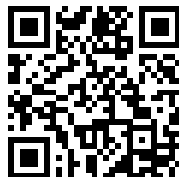
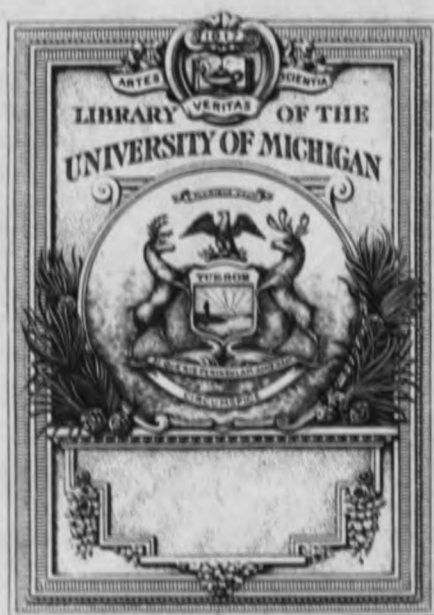

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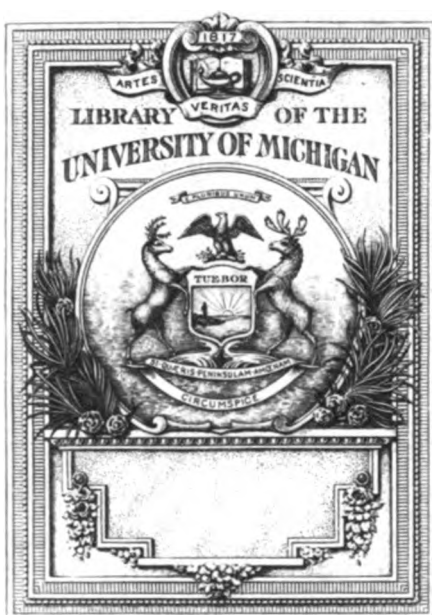
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PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.
XXXVII.

BENJAMIN FERRIS.

Proceedings of the meeting of the Historical Society of Delaware, held on the evening of May 19, 1902, to commemorate the eminent services rendered to the State by Benjamin Ferris the author of "Early Settlements on the Delaware."

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE,
WILMINGTON.
1903.

THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WILMINGTON, DEL.



EXPLANATION.

The committee on Literary Exercises in conjunction with the librarian conceived the idea of setting part an evening to be devoted to papers and reminiscences touching the life, work and character of Benjamin Ferris, the author of the historical publication known as "The Early Settlements on the Delaware." This publication was issued in 1845 and represented years of patient and painstaking work on the part of the author, and while the work itself has been everywhere recognized as one of distinguished merit, but little has been hitherto presented in permanent shape that tended to impress upon the public the worth and stable character of the man through whose research and effort so much of local historical value has been preserved, that would otherwise have been lost.—The meeting proved an interesting one and was attended by many of the older citizens who had known Benjamin Ferris in his lifetime. The contents of the pages following, containing as they do the proceedings of the meeting, constitute, in some measure, a just meed of praise to the worthy author and historian whom all felt a delight in honoring.

THE LIBRARIAN.

M.F.M.

MEMOIR OF BENJAMIN FERRIS.

Prepared by Lewis P. Bush, M. D., an old and intimate friend of the subject of the sketch, and read by Dr. Bush before a meeting of the Historical Society held on the evening of March 10, 1870. Re-read by Henry C. Conrad, Librarian of the Society at the commemorative exercises.

Benjamin Ferris, the subject of the following notice died in Wilmington, Del., November 9th, A. D. 1867.

He was a descendent from an English Family, one of whose members, Samuel Ferris, came from Reading, England, about 40 miles N. E. of London, in the year 1682, and settled at Groton, near Boston, Mass., but shortly afterward removed to Charlestown, Mass., and thence to New Milford, Conn. From this place his Grandson, John Ferris removed and settled in Wilmington, Del., in the year 1748; thus being among the first settlers in this city.

Ziba Ferris, the son of John Ferris, was born in New Milford, A. D. 1743, and died in Wilmington, A. D. 1794. He was the father of Benjamin Ferris, of whom is this paper.—It seemed proper that some notice, other than the ordinary Resolutions of respect which have been passed by this Society, should be taken of the subject of this paper, who was a respected member of the Society, and also the first citizen of our State, who ever attempted to gather up any portion of its annals, and hence this sketch.

Of his ancestors, Benjamin Ferris remarks as follows—
“They are spoken of in the early family records, as being

“of the Puritan sort of people, and for several generations continued to profess the Presbyterian form of faith.”

With many others of a like faith, this family, doubtless impressed by the uncertainty of repose in England, in view of the great troubles and sufferings in regard to religion, which had extended through more than a century, hailed the opening of a new country, as light from Heaven, and emigrated to America in hope of finding the peace here, which was denied them in their own land. They had lived near the center of those agitations which prevailed during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, of James and Charles 1st and 2nd; and up to the time of their leaving England the peace of the country seemed as unstable as the waves of the ocean. I here quote, as an interesting and instructive fragment, the following remarks of Benjamin Ferris, recorded by him in a book of family history, as a tribute to the character of his ancestors—“One of the best inducements,” says he “to stimulate survivors to preserve a record of the character of those who have gone before them, is the hope that the example of worthy ancestors may excite their descendants to follow in their footsteps. On looking over the annals of those, who have passed through the scene of probation before me, on both the paternal and maternal sides of my family, I find an ancestry, pure and spotless as regards any stain on their moral character. I have no doubt that they all had the same temptations, and the same trials that await us, and will always attend those who succeed us; but standing on the watch tower, and having timely notice of the approach of their enemies, they were enabled to conquer; or being suddenly attacked, were, thro’ Divine Mercy,

aided in the conflict, and came out victorious; leaving us an example that we might follow their steps."

Benjamin Ferris was born in Wilmington, August 7th, 1780. His early life was spent in Philadelphia where he obtained a knowledge of the watchmaking business; and whence he returned to Wilmington in the year 1813. During nearly the whole period between that and his death, he resided in this city. His occupation here was that of a conveyancer, and he was also appointed city surveyor about the year 1820, which office he discharged with so much public satisfaction, that it was with difficulty that he could disengage himself from it. Fond of knowledge, he read extensively upon religious and historical subjects, especially the history of our own country; and having an excellent memory, he laid up extensive stores of facts relative to general and personal subjects, which, with his fondness for social intercourse, rendered his companionship most interesting and instructive to his friends.

Among other subjects to which his attention was naturally directed, as a member of the Society of Friends, and especially interested in the life, character and administration of William Penn, was that of the condition and welfare of the aborigines of our Country; and hence in November, 1839, we find his name on a committee appointed by the yearly meetings of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, to investigate and lay before Congress and the President of the United States the history and wrongs of the Seneca Indians.

These Indians who occupied a Reservation of land chiefly in the southern part of New York, had become surrounded by an advancing civilization. An agricultural

community occupied all the land adjacent, and as the property of the Indians containing over 100,000 acres, was growing in value, it became an object of cupidity to the Ogden Land Company, who resolved to secure it, (whether by right or by wrong). This Company had by a grant from the State of Massachusetts, the original proprietor of that part of New York, obtained the pre-emption right to the land occupied by the Senecas, which implied the right of the first opportunity of purchase, whenever the Indians should remove; and at the time of which we now speak, were endeavouring by very unjust means to dispossess the Indians. It became evident to the Society of Friends that this Company was likely to effect their object, which would necessitate the removal of the Senecas to some remote part of the Country; and to prevent such removal against the wishes of the Indians, was the object of the appointment of this Committee. To accomplish their unrighteous purpose the Company had by bribes induced a number of the Chiefs of the Nation to sign a treaty assenting to their removal; but the Committee had fully ascertained and proved the iniquity of the procedure, and had thus represented it to the President and Senate of the United States.

The Treaty was referred by the Senate to a committee of that body, who were fully satisfied of its fraudulent character, and having remodeled it, reported it to the Senate, by whom it was sent to the Indians for their acceptance. This assent could not be obtained, as Mr. Van Buren stated in his message the next year, 1840—but taking advantage of a thin house, the friends of the Land Co. succeeded in pushing it through the Senate by a bare majority, after which, bearing the signature of the President, it was returned to

the Indians, carrying with it the sentence of banishment from the homes and graves of their fathers.

In these efforts which continued through two years. Benjamin Ferris took a prominent part, having been a member not only of the original committee, but also of all the sub-committees. After this disappointment a correspondence and conference was had with Joel R. Poinsett and John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, by Philip E. Thomas of Baltimore, which resulted in the restoration to the Indians of about one-half, or 53,000 acres of their land ; but not until some 200 of the Indians had been induced by deception to remove beyond the Mississippi. There they were overtaken by want of their usual comforts, by want of food, by disease, and the death of a considerable number of them. The remainder were brought back by the efforts of the Friends, and replaced upon the remnant of their former reservation in New York.

"To the honor of the State of New York, says "the Report," it should be recorded in *perpetuam rec memoriam*, that the aborigines of our Country, who have sought and found protection within her borders have been treated with humanity and kindness. "We believe that she is now the only state of the original thirteen that founded this Republic, in which there remains a political, organized body of native Indians. Even in the State of Pennsylvania, so much lauded for her magnanimity and justice to the natives, it is believed that there is not one foot of land now owned or occupied by an Indian. New York alone may proudly claim the honor of affording to several bands of them, resting places and security; she has moreover established schools for the education of their children, and under her fostering

protection, they have been instructed and led into the habits and comforts of civilized life, she has bountifully assisted in the support of the schools established by her, and has moreover founded and contributed, to support among them an orphan asylum, which shelters a large number of destitute children." [See page 43 of Pamphlet of Documents, etc., also page 51.]

Previously to serving upon this Indian Committee, Benjamin Ferris had had his mind inclined to the subject of a history of the early settlement of his native state. His leisure, inclination and desire for employment alike conduced to the development of this idea; and his visits to New York in connection with his duties on this committee gave him an opportunity of examining the records which were deposited at Albany, and in the library of the New York Historical Society, with reference to this subject. From the Pennsylvania Historical Society he received much assistance; and among other sources of information he sought to look into the records of the Old Swedes' church of this place by studying the Swedish language, but found great difficulties from the change of the language; which was sufficient partially to obscure the meaning.

The field over which he now resolved to travel was one without landmarks, and in a great measure unexplored, whose rich materials lay scattered widely, and in entire confusion. If he had accomplished nothing else, he would, at least, have had the satisfaction and credit of setting up the landmarks, thus inciting others to travel over, and labor upon the field, so much more practicable and easy of improvement than when he first looked upon it. But

he did more than this; for he arranged and matured a history the value of which, from its rich materials of facts and dates, so diligently sought out, and conscientiously set forth, must always hereafter be acknowledged. Campanius' small work was translated into the English language by Peter DuPonceau, the late venerable President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and so far as I know, this was the only work on this subject translated from the Swedish language when Mr. Ferris wrote; or at least the only printed one. The Rev. Israel Acrelius, and Rev. Andreas Rudman, had written a history of their times in Swedish, and that of the latter was in the possession of the Wicaco church. These persons were Lutheran ministers, the former was one of the ministers of our Old Swedes' Church; the latter was the first minister at Wicaco church, in the year 1700.

The period of general history passed over in the "original settlements on the Delaware" is from the year 1609, the date of Hudson's discoveries in America, to the beginning of the Eighteenth century, after William Penn had organized the government of the State of Pennsylvania, and the three counties on the Delaware. It would not be in accordance with the object of this paper to set forth even the outline of this interesting part of the work, which is in the hands of so many of our citizens.

The next division of the work is occupied with a history of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Swedes, a history which begins with, and clusters around our Old Swedes' Church; that ancient building, which challenges our veneration, as carrying back our associations so far into the past of this country, not only in fancy, but by its solemn personal presence.

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The third part of the work is devoted to the history of our own city, and neighborhood—its origin, gradual growth and advancement up to the period of the publication of the book in the year 1846, when Mr. Ferris estimated our population at 7,000.

The political history of the State, as it was involved in the wars for Independence did not enter into the scope of the work which he set himself to perform; this yet remains to be gathered up, and it is to be feared that each year is destroying the materials for such a history. Since the above was written, I have received the first number of a work on the history of Delaware by Francis Vincent of this city;—which is intended to cover the ground left untouched by Mr. Ferris.

“The original settlements” was published in the year 1846, and the whole edition was so fully absorbed that it is difficult now to obtain a copy of it. About the year 1856, Benjamin Ferris was seized with a paralysis, which destroyed in a great measure his power of speech, and wholly that of reading and writing, and although he lived 11 years afterwards, his speech returned only imperfectly. But during that period he might be seen daily walking abroad with some member of his family, as active as anyone among us of his age. He thus kept himself acquainted with the progress of improvement in our city, and also with the scenes of his earlier life, as far as they remained. These changes which have taken place so rapidly within the past few years, he looked upon with a good deal of emotion, as they obliterated yearly the old places, full of associations of the history of the past, in which he had loved so much to dwell. In “the

Original Settlements," he thus beautifully expresses himself, page 172.

Much as such a lament as this may be scouted by those who are entirely engrossed with passing events, who find their only pleasure in the rapid march of population, and its attendants, no one need be ashamed of a heart which originates and gives vent to such sentiments.

"For one hundred years, says he, after the adjacent City of Wilmington was laid out, the old church stood nearly half a mile from the built part of it. Its situation secluded and quiet. The scenery all around it was indeed beautiful, but calculated rather to tranquilize the feelings than to excite them. The Christiana flowed by between its green bordering of reeds, but a few paces from the church yard walls. Many a bright sail was to be seen on a summer evening, gliding along its noiseless current. Behind it was the beautiful Brandywine, and beyond it the majestic Delaware, bounded by the blue line of Jersey Woods, and rolling its mighty waters toward the mightier Atlantic. Rich green meadows lay immediately round the church; all these, with the countless interesting associations connected with the place, combined to make a walk to the old church yard a favorite object both to the old and young.

In no spot, perhaps, on this side of the ocean, where almost everything is new and fresh, where there is so little to excite feeling of veneration, or gratify the taste of the antiquary, are there so many circumstances, enabling us to realize some of the best productions of the British muse, as in our old church yard. If the poet, Thomson, had been buried here, Collin's beautiful ode on his death, would have suited the surrounding scenery as well as it suits the

vicinity of Richmond church. Had Gray written his incomparable *Elegy* here, he would not have wanted but few subjects to have made it what it is; and he might have found interesting substitutes for such as we have not. We have indeed no "ivy-mantled towers," those beautiful monuments of feudal barbarism, but we have ivy-mantled trees, which in the evening of the year, are clothed in colors more splendid than any the poet ever witnessed, in the changing foliage of his own country. These, from the fact that this very splendor is the sure precursor of its own fall, an infallible sign that the gentle hand of death is upon it, are as appropriate subjects of church yard meditations, as any in his poem. It is true, we have no "yew trees shade," but we have our "rugged elms" and many other trees native of our country, whose branches are as thickly interwoven, and who as kindly throw their broad shadows o'er the quiet mansions of the dead, as the cypress or the yew. Our old cemetery contains, in sober truth, the relics of those who cleared the dense forests and tangled brakes of our country, who literally "bowed the woods beneath their sturdy stroke." We can say of it, without any draft on poetic license, for the sake of embellishment.

"Beneath the sycamore's extended shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,
Each in his narrow cell forever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

But alas! "Time spoils all things," and trade, which has no poetry in it, has made sad encroachments on the venerable monuments of our Swedish predecessors. The city is fast invading the quietude and retirement of the old

church. Within seven years, some hundred of houses have sprung up on that side of the town. The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad has pushed its unrelenting way through a part of the graveyard. The beautiful site of the little town of Christianaham, is cut through for the passage of the "rapid car." The very spot where the valiant Governor of the New Netherlands, Peter Stuyvesant of warlike mein and memory, with his sage counsellor Nicatius de Sylle, of the one part, and John Claudü Rising, Governor General of New Sweden, with his commissary Elswyck on the other part, held a parley for the surrender of Fort Christiana, nearly two hundred years ago—that very spot is *now a yawning gulph*, excavated wide and deep, out of which have been taken thousands of tons of stone, to make the Delaware Breakwater. But what is more censurable than all, as having less excuse, a most magnificent row of trees, which ranged along the eastern boundary of the graveyard, has been sacrificed not to necessity, but to a miserable want of taste. A noble old walnut tree which grew there, and which Old Minuet, the first governor, has many a time gazed upon, measuring seven feet in diameter at its base, flourishing and vigorous, and perfectly sound, was not many years ago, sold for a few dollars, and cut down to be converted into gun stocks "*sic transit gloria mundi.*"

The memory of the scenes and places of earlier life always become more dear to the ingenuous mind, as change and death take away, year by year, those whom we loved and cherished, and leave us connected more and more loosely to the present, as these ties are sundered. Youth full of energy, hope, and trust, looks only forward into the future,

mature age, too often wearied by the disappointments, and troubles of life, and seeking repose, turns its eye backward upon the calm and placid field of early and well spent days, drawing comfort and cheer from their distant and solemn perspective.

About the year 1835, he withdrew from business. Never much engrossed in its active duties, and not at all anxious for its emoluments, he was a full believer in the truth, that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth." From that date until he was disabled by disease, he spent his time chiefly in literary pursuits, in the congenial society of his family, of the large circle of his relatives and friends here and elsewhere, and in duties connected with the religious society of which he was a member. While keeping aloof from party politics, he felt a warm interest in the general welfare of his country, and his feelings were always enlisted when "the higher law" was involved in a political conflict. This led him to cast his only vote at a Presidential election, in hope that it might help to avert the adoption of the Missouri Compromise; and the principles at issue in the late war made him follow its course with painful interest, and would have induced him to vote for the re-election of Lincoln, but that he was confined to the house by indisposition.

But agitations and excitements of political life possessed no attractions to draw him away from the serene retreats and enjoyments to which he had retired, and where he found a field for the exercise of those qualities of mind, which with an unfailing kindness and cheerfulness diffused a genial and elevating influence wherever he visited. I have already

read an extract from a family record made by Mr. Ferris relative to the character of his ancestors. Basing his own principles upon those which they professed, he exemplified them in the conduct of his daily life, and thus added another to the list of his family, who "dying left no stain behind him." Thus loved by his family, and honored by his friends he lived, until in his 87th year, he composedly and hopefully gave up his spirit to its Great Author.

He was a member of the Society of Friends—in that faith he lived,—in it he died—and his last resting place is in their place of sepulture.

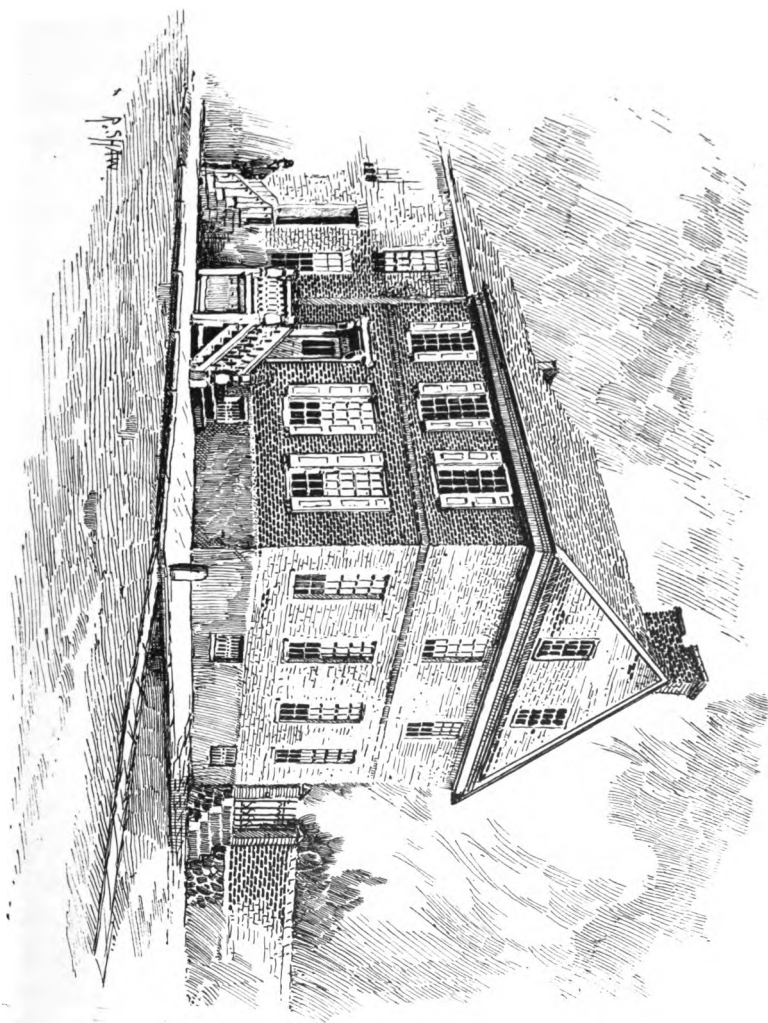
REMINISCENCES OF BENJAMIN FERRIS.

BY HIS SON, DAVID FERRIS.

In penning these memoirs I am aware that they are records of an humble life, unconnected with military renown, or with titled or noble descent, or with political distinction; "but in the quiet ways of unobtrusive goodness known." My father was born in the house now standing on the N. E. corner of Third and Shipley streets, 8th mo., 7th, 1780; it was built by his father, Ziba Ferris. My father was interested in genealogical research and traced his ancestry back several generations with industry and success.

Samuel Ferris the original emigrant of the Ferris family, (and the one from whom it is supposed all of that name in the United States have descended) came from Reading in England. He settled east from Boston, at Groton. His son Zechariah, settled in New Milford, Conn. Zechariah had eight or nine children; the family were Presbyterian but became dissatisfied with the sterner doctrines of that sect, and eventually joined the Friends (called Quakers). It is remarkable that five of them came to be preachers in the

**BIRTHPLACE OF BENJAMIN FERRIS,
N. E. CORNER THIRD AND SHIPLEY STREETS, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.**



society of Friends. Four of the brothers, John, David, Zechariah, and Benjamin moved to Wilmington, David in 1737, John in 1748. The settlement of these four brothers all earnest ministers of Friends in a small town, had a marked effect on the prosperity and moral character of the place. William Shipley, also a Friend of quite large means, invested in property here and settled about the time David Ferris came. From this time the place prospered, many Friends moved in, and their meeting increased. In 1738, their first meeting house was built at Fourth and West Sts.

My father placed the following lines at the head of a Genealogy :

I would not take descent from Royal line,
Could all the wealth of all the world be mine;
Hereditary ills torment the race,
Deep in their robes the stains of vice we trace;
I boast a nobler birth, to me 'tis given
To trace my lineage up from earth to Heaven.

When my father was five or six years old, a friend who was visiting at their home amused the boy by taking him on his knee and showing him a watch; he opened it and let the child see the wheels moving, explaining that they moved the hands so as to indicate the time. That incident caused my father to choose watchmaking as a business. My Grandfather Ziba, deceased, when my father was about 14 years old in 1794; then the question of choosing a trade came up and he earnestly pleaded to learn watchmaking. His school education up to that time was very limited, merely the rudiments, under teachers of very limited capacity and book knowledge.

He was apprenticed to Thomas Parker of Philadelphia, and faithfully served out his time with him and learned all that could be learned of the trade there. He and his fellow apprentice would leave their beds often before daylight and walk three or four miles before breakfast; this early exercise kept them in robust health and preserved them from the evil effects of long confinement at the bench. When father went to Philadelphia, hundreds of French emigrants were arriving in this country. They were often the most highly educated and gifted Frenchmen of noble families; exiled by the Revolution. My father was much interested in them and he wanted to learn their language, but his mother was much shocked at the atrocities of the French revolution then in progress, in France; and used her influence to prevent it. Father's temperament was one to overcome difficulties. Closely confined at his trade, without money and with every obstacle in his way; during his apprenticeship he learned French, and learned it well; learned to speak as well as read it, and some of the Frenchmen told him he had acquired the real Parisian accent. His term of apprenticeship was improved also by the study of history, particularly that of England in which he became very well versed; his memory of dates was so good that he could recall the time of the occurrence of any important event in English history, with the date and duration of the reign of each monarch. All the money he could save was spent in buying books or paying for instruction in useful knowledge. He was a self-made man, and that "spark of nature's fire," of which the poet Burns writes. When his apprenticeship ended he had acquired a fund of useful information; a knowledge of human

nature, and the friendship of some very intelligent men outside of his religious society. Among these were some of the French emigrants I have alluded to. Several eminent among them settled here in Wilmington and vicinity. Irene DuPont, Alexander Garashe, Peter Bauday, among the number. Father was genial and social, he had a conversational gift, and could talk to these French men fluently in their own language, and they had very pleasant social intercourse. Father was married to Fanny Canby, May 17, 1804, he was very fond of children and had a happy faculty of amusing and instructing them.

Many verses of poetry with a good moral; many puzzles and enigmas in rhyme he wrote for us. Many pretty fancy pictures with pen, pencil, and brush, he made for us, some of which are yet extant. I here copy two or three :

TO MY CHILDREN.

AN ALLEGORY.

In a rich verdant meadow, with herbage abounding,
Two sweet little lambs by their mother were fed;
A tall hedge impervious the pasture surrounding,
Secured them from wolves the great object of dread.

You see said their Dam in this meadow gay blooming
How safely we feed ! How delighted we range.
May we ne'er on our strength or our wisdom presuming
Desire to wander, or venture to change.

Yon Forest majestic that waves so inviting
As a dwelling of peace, at this distance appears,
But hear me my lambkins in carnage delighting,
There ranges the dread Wolf, the cause of my fears.

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Tho' beyond our enclosure to view all alluring
The green sloping hills, and gay vallies are spread,
Yet ah; venture not! sure 'tis easy enduring,
The absence of pleasure with safety instead.

So spake a fond mother—a sense of their danger
Pervaded the breast of each listening lamb—
They shuddered to think on the fate of the ranger,
And promised to feed by the side of their dam.

But one of these lambkins its mother unheeding,
Allured by temptation once ventured to stray,
A wolf in the woods heard the wanderer bleating,
Rushed onward voracious and made her his prey.

MORAL.

O'er the limits of truth when presuming we stray,
And leave the enjoyments of virtue behind,
How dark is the gloom that envelopes our way;
Leading downward to death of the dreadfulest kind.

ENIGMA. (Alcohol)

I am altogether Spirit
And yet I am corporeal
Tho' found on earth I yet inherit
A nature quite ethereal
I physic I have skill
Yet men of sense reject me
My bosom friends I kill
And yet they much respect me.

Benjamin Ferris up to 1820 was very little known in public outside his own religious society;—he took no part in politics, he held no public office, he declined even to vote for a President of the United States because he was Commander-in-Chief of the Army. A simple incident brought him into more general notice in religious circles in and near

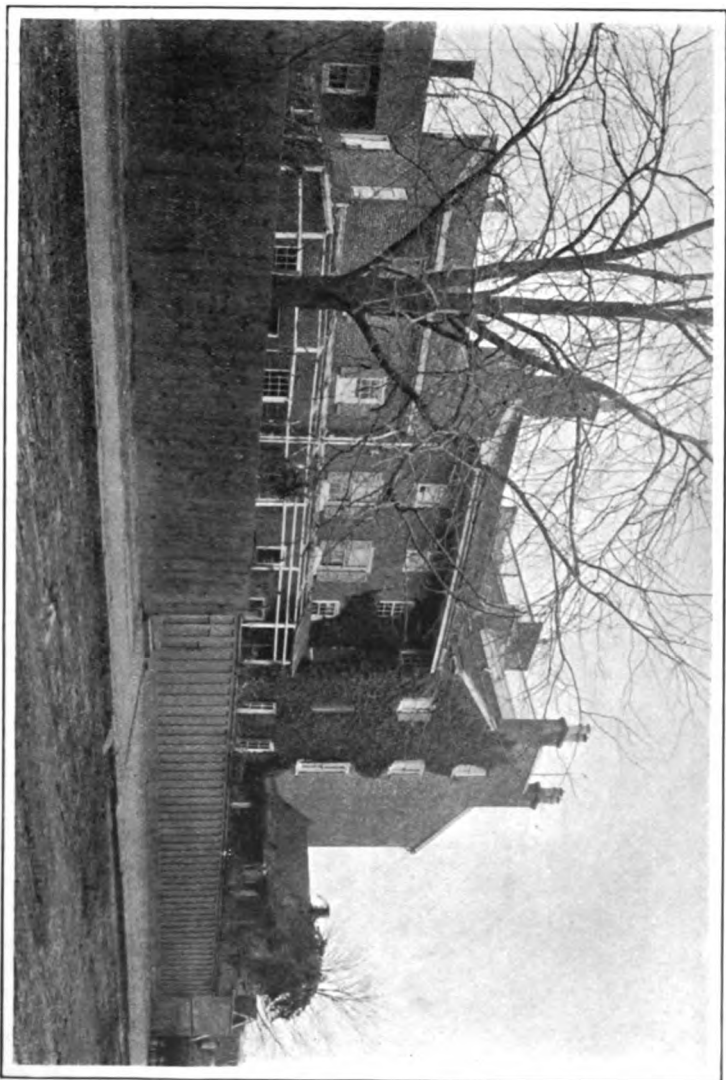
Wilmington. In the 5th mo. 1821, there appeared (in a religious weekly periodical called "The Christian Repository") an anonymous letter over the signature of 'Paul', charging the Society of Friends with holding doctrines inimical to the principles of the Gospel as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. After three of these letters from Paul, one appeared over the signature of Amicus commencing to answer these charges. This doctrinal controversy was kept up weekly almost without interruption until 2nd mo. 1823 with great earnestness, ability and toward the last with some acrimony. It embraced Internal Light, Water Baptism, Lord's Supper, Trinity, Vicarious Atonement, Scriptures, Justification, etc., etc. The public considered the subjects very ably argued on both sides, of course each person giving preference to the side where education and previous conviction inclined them. The contestants grew more uncharitable, and condemnatory as the contest proceeded, as is natural. Each claimed the victory, as is also natural and they seemed to get farther apart in their own views. Paul was Rev. Eliphalet W. Gilbert a Presbyterian Minister a man much beloved by his congregation and respected and honored wherever known. I think he was a good man, and sincerely desirous of enlightening Friends and warning them of their heresy. It may here be noted that in a few years Friends and Presbyterians each divided on doctrinal points. It may be noted that each one of the contestants took the liberal or progressive side in the division of his Society. Gilbert with the New School, Ferris with what is known as the Hicksite branch of Friends. This long correspondence made a great addition to my father's stock of information; in the rudiments of Greek,

Hebrew, and Latin,—in Church History, and the enlightened study of the Bible and of Ancient History. It gave the *Christian Repository* a larger circulation and its readers much useful information. The literary work of my father best known to the public is his *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, published in 1846 with a *History of Wilmington*. Peter Minuit in command of two vessels the 'Key of Calmar and Griffin' landed at the rocks on the Christiana near the Old Swedes' Church early in the Spring of 1638. This was the foundation of the Swedish village of Christina named after the infant daughter of the Great, 'Gustavus Adolphus'.

In 1731 Thomas Willing laid out streets for the town that afterward became Wilmington. It was first called after its founder Thomas Willing, Willing-town. The first house stood at the corner of Front and Market streets and bore the date of 1732. The little town languished for want of settlers and in 1735 it contained only from 15 to 20 houses of every description. The town then began to improve and in 1740 was estimated to contain 600 inhabitants, in 1793 2500, 1830, 7000.

In 1739 a charter was obtained naming it Wilmington, the first vessel for foreign trade was built in 1740, by Wm. Shipley, David Ferris and others named the Wilmington. It is likely about this time the town took this name, 1739.

Father declined watchmaking and removed from Philadelphia to Wilmington in 1813. He had acquired a very plain beautiful business hand writing and adopted Surveying and Conveyancing as a business here. He bought the house where he deceased and in which the family have ever since resided in 1817. Perhaps it may not be out of place to



RESIDENCE OF BENJAMIN FERRIS,
N. W. CORNER THIRD AND WEST STREETS, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.

read here an extract from a tribute to his memory published in the *Friends Intelligencer*.

“A rare and gifted spirit has passed from among us, and entered upon the higher life. His wonderful conversational powers adapted themselves with remarkable versatility to all ages and capacities. He was a connecting link between the present generation and the past; his retentive memory and power of representation enabling him from an inexhaustible fund of anecdote and illustration to give life pictures of the character and manners of those who have passed away. He was a beautiful example of the cheerful Christian, and his high gifts employed in the right direction made pleasant and attractive the lessons they conveyed. His able pen was often employed as the earnest advocate of the spirituality of Christian faith. His sympathies were enlisted in behalf of the poor Indians and by advocating their cause with those in authority he was instrumental in redressing their wrongs. But the most impressive lessons gained from his example were in the last twelve years of his life. When suddenly deprived of the powers that had contributed so largely to his own and others' enjoyment, although fully conscious of the loss he bowed in cheerful acquiescence to the Divine Will; and the strong gifted man, laying down strength and gifts entered while on earth into the Heaven of Love. Many can bear witness that however great was the enjoyment of his society in the days of his intellectual power, far greater in these latter days was the charm of the sweetness of his spirit, and the love which seemed to embrace the whole human family:—all those who came within its influence were made to feel; how blessed

are they who in their evening twilight, are permitted to see the arising of the brightness of the future day. While we deeply feel the absence of one so long loved we must also rejoice that the burden of weakness and weariness has been laid down, and he has entered upon the Heavenly inheritance of joy unspeakable. We cannot close better than by quoting his own words, so applicable to himself:—

Thrice blessed even here tho' in life's lowest station
The Christian who sits at the feet of his Lord.
With joy bears his cross thro' this scene of probation
And patiently waits his eternal reward.

A TRIBUTE TO BENJAMIN FERRIS.

BY PENNOCK PUSEY.

Among the many pleasant recollections of a happy childhood, I readily recall that of two brothers of mature years, who were members of the Society of Friends when I was an attendant at its meetings in my early teens.

With all the hallowed associations of home and the specially gentle and kindly influences which seem veritable exhalations from the peaceful circles of Friends, there was always something in Quakerly decorum and its studied repression of emotional exhibits that was trying at least, if not appalling to the exuberant spirits of average youth and especially to the irruptive propensities of the unmitigated urchin.

Perhaps this was one of the many reasons for the early and ardent admiration I conceived for the brothers Benjamin and Ziba Ferris ; for they differed greatly from the average Friend, at least in outward demeanor by their more demonstrative nature, invariably exhibiting as they did a rare cordiality in their greetings, readiness of expression, and a buoyant and happy suavity of manner which made personal intercourse with them very charming.

Without any lack of the solid merits so much prized and inculcated among Friends these brothers, alike in the Ferris name, their rather short and compact physique, their

tastes, aptitudes and activities and especially in a certain facile and vivacious elegance of deportment in their common intercourse with all conditions of people, evidenced qualities, attributes and peculiarities which are usually accepted as characteristic of the French people. And hence the rather definite tradition and long prevalent conjecture that they were remotely of French origin, their ancestors having fled with the Huguenot refugees who sought protection in England upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. While such a family origin seems probable there are no ascertained facts to support it, and their ancestry has been traced no further back than to an English family resident in Reading, Berkshire county, England, whose descendants emigrated first to Massachusetts, thence to Connecticut and finally to Delaware where, in Wilmington, the brothers were born, lived and died.

Benjamin Ferris was an inveterate reader and a diligent student. He early evinced a keen relish for subjects pertaining to colonial settlements in the New World, and he applied himself to historical researches with such faithful and conscientious zeal as realized the best results. It would be difficult indeed to exaggerate the value of his labors in exemplifying the peculiarities, causes and character of the early settlements in the Delaware. He was in the best sense of the term the father of Delaware history; and as the first writer who achieved the task of producing a connected and systematic early history of our state, he placed his fellow citizens and their descendants under a lasting debt of gratitude. In the light of the present facilities for elucidating historic subjects it is difficult to overstate or comprehend the obstacles encountered by Mr. Ferris in the prosecution of

his labors. It should be remembered that at that early period the Dutch and Swedish records had not yet been translated, which necessitated at least a rudimental acquaintance with the languages in which they were written, and that to insure accuracy and completeness of the work it was necessary to hire the services of competent masters of the respective languages, in order to their thorough and satisfactory rendition into the English tongue. It should moreover not be forgotten that the original records were not infrequently of a crude and illiterate character, so disjointed and confused as to demand much hard study, quick sagacity, and skillful arrangement for their easy comprehension. But perhaps not the least discouragement confronting our early historian was his literary isolation, the lack of sympathy with, and appreciation of his difficult task on the part of otherwise kind neighbors and friends.

With the rapidly growing and most recent public interest in historic matters and the very gratifying development of the historic spirit during the past forty years, it can scarcely be believed with what cold indifference the valuable historic volume of *Friend Ferris* was received by the general public upon its publication in the year 1846. Indeed there seemed at that period and for some years later a petty and almost resentful public feeling which was inclined to censure any departure from strictly utilitarian pursuits in their narrowest sense, and to frown upon every suggestion or movement aiming at any end outside the scope of the clamorous present. The writer speaks advisedly and perhaps with some little feeling upon this point from his experience in originating an attempted movement for marking the first

landing place of the Swedes on the Christiana, less than thirty years ago, which elicited a response of shallow ridicule in lieu of friendly co-operation.

Under all the circumstances the successful issue of Mr. Ferris' History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware was an achievement of which Delawareans may be gratefully proud. It is a history not rendered obsolete by later discoveries, but everywhere still accepted as high authority along historic lines, with fewer and less important errors than were inevitable in the average publications of the time, a volume now so prized that copies are obtainable only with much difficulty and expense.

But Benjamin Ferris was not only a competent historian; he was an indefatigable worker, an able and versatile writer, and a many-sided man of worthy and beneficent aspirations, who faithfully sought the betterment of his fellows, and the social, moral and religious welfare of the general public. While well informed upon scientific matters and profoundly read in general history he was a thorough master of the French language, in which tongue he took pleasure in conversing with the old French residents, of which there was once a goodly number in Wilmington. Mr. Ferris was a man of delicate fancy and rare, quiet wit, gifted with a warm imagination and the enthusiastic temperament of a poet. He wrote graceful verse with rhythmical flow, force and beauty; he indulged a nice capacity for skillful drawing and sketching with playful illustrations, and he left many evidences that he could have excelled in these lighter accomplishments had he chosen to devote his time and efforts thereto. But these were the amusements of his leisure moments, while weightier matters largely connected with

his moral and religious duties as a member of the Society of Friends, occupied his working hours. If, as Carlyle has said, genius is simply a capacity for work, Benjamin Ferris was a man of genius; for his work was constant, varied, unwearied and effective. Alike in his historical labors and as Amicus in his celebrated religious controversy with Paul he exhibited intellectual grasp and charitable breadth of view, while any tendency towards narrow austerity or bitterness, had there been such, would have been checked and tempered by the gentler influences of his liberal and poetic feeling, to say nothing of his religious toleration. In short Benjamin Ferris united in rare decree the capacity for nice detail with the power of broad generalization, to which withal were added at once the modesty and genial attributes that made him a general favorite and courtly grace and quiet dignity marking the finished gentleman.

I shall never forget the prompt and buoyant response he once made to a query of mine, nor the helpful pleasure I derived from it. I had just read with avidity his history of the original settlements on the Delaware, and meeting the author on the street I ventured to express my great gratification with it, and to enquire as to the location of Crane Hook church. I have alluded to the listless reception accorded this historic volume on its first appearance, and perhaps its author was then feeling sadly the lack of general interest in his labors. At all events his face suddenly lighted up at my words, and putting his arm through mine he exclaimed, "I am delighted with so much interest in so young a person; now come with me, and I'll show thee at once where the ancient church stood," and so conducting me to

the brow of the hill near the corner of Sixth and King streets, from which elevated point there where then fewer tall buildings obstructing the view, he pointed across intervening levels to the majestic old buttonwood on the distant river shore; "There!" he said "touched by the shade of that grand old tree and skirting its long easterly branches stood Crane Hook church; it was erected nearly two hundred years ago, so we may begin to feel that our locality has a past as well as a future."

Preceding and following this information his animated talk was full of stirring and instructive interest, touching the abounding material and rich historic interest of our immediate vicinity, while there was a contagious inspiration in his glowing and earnest manner, from the effects of which I trust I may not yet have wholly recovered.

Two other incidents connected with the memory of Benjamin Ferris, I recall with pleasure both because of their association with a treasured past and because they illustrate the ready tact and wise toleration which were among the pronounced characteristics of our departed friend. One of these pertained to the wedding of the parents of our fellow townsman Howard Pyle, which took place at a private residence, but according to Friend's ceremony, whereat the writer was one of the assistants. Benjamin Ferris was one of the committee of Friends usually appointed by the Meeting to be present on such occasions to insure the due order and nice proprieties they earnestly enjoin. After the ceremony was over, but before the evening was half spent Friend Ferris, casting his eyes about, began to betray signs of uneasiness. His sprightly manners and engaging conver-

sation had greatly contributed to the pleasure of the occasion, but with watchful considerateness he soon conceived the idea that the committee's presence acted as a restraint upon the younger company, and he therefore proposed to the fellow members of the committee that they should all quietly withdraw and leave the young people to their unguarded enjoyment. To this his companions, with some assumption of dignity and claim of the solemn duty devolving upon them, objected, as a tacit invitation to levity and the setting of a bad example. After a brief delay Friend Ferris renewed his proposal for withdrawal which was again declined by his companions. Our friend still persisting, the committee held a brief consultation between themselves, when Benjamin, suddenly turning to the assemblage, exclaimed in his happiest manner, "well young friends we'll make this bargain with you, and then we'll feel safe in trusting you alone:—"do you so behave that we can report well of you and we will do likewise that you can report the same of us,"—whereupon the committee departed amid such a merry burst of applause as left its jolly impetus for the growing joy of the evening.

The other incident referred to I have hesitated to mention, because, being of a purely personal character, it implies at least latent vanity on the writer's part; but it so well exhibits the practical sagacity and kindly tact which marked the character of Benjamin Ferris, that I think it should not be withheld. When quite a young man I was waited on by a committee of Friends, of which Mr. Ferris was a member, in order to deal or consult with me regarding my membership in the Society of Friends. There were two specific charges about which I was to be examined, namely, my

non-attendance at meetings, and the practice of music. At that time I was a radical and aggressive young reformer, an experience which like that of most persons impelled by zeal bordering upon fanaticism, tends to the self-imposition of the world's sins upon one's own shoulders; and so with the presumptuous spirit of youth and scarcely awaiting the committee's opening of the matter I eagerly began the discussion, being glad of the opportunity to assail the Friends for what I thought their many short comings, and especially their lack of zeal in rebuking human slavery and other prevalent crimes. I admitted my non-attendance at meetings which I justified on the plea that I attended as often as the spirit moved me to do so, contending that I thus followed truer Quakerly leading than did those who went merely from force of habit or pursuant to formal regulation.

With reference to music I not only declined expressing regret or excusing myself for the love and cultivation of it, but zealously advocated its pursuit, and, in turn, charged Friends with having mistaken its nature and influence and with gross and culpable prohibition and neglect of not merely an innocent amusement but one of the most beneficent agencies for the good of mankind. The matter having been presented on both sides of the points at issue the discussion grew warm and earnest. But in the animadversions touching my absence from meetings Friend Ferris seemed reluctant to participate, while in those relating to music he was wholly silent. This, as to the latter point, I have always believed was because in his secret heart he really loved music, and with happy prescience anticipated its inevitable spread and the widening and wholesome prevalence to which



BENJAMIN FERRIS,
FROM A SILHOUETTE IN THE POSSESSION
OF THE FAMILY.



it was destined in a progressive civilization. Deprecating the centuries persisted in by his fellow committee-men, Benjamin at length, while playfully patting my shoulder, brought the conference to an abrupt close by declaring that "it is just such conscientious and intelligent young people who can thus give reasons for the faith in them, that we wish to retain in our Society; we cannot afford to do without them; and I trust we may all yet see it right for thee to remain with us"—and later he candidly added the confession that if Friends lost touch with the progressive age by the desertion of their young members, there was indeed danger that the Society might retain the shell without the substance of Quakerism and lapse into a lifeless and purely formal body sadly at variance with its inspiring origin and its glorious career.

Time has amply vindicated the prophetic wisdom of Mr. Ferris alike as to his views of growing religious toleration and those regarding the destined growth and refining province of music; and the efforts since made by Friends to correct early mistakes and avert their worst consequences, are seen alike in the establishment of "First-day schools," literary, social and other organizations for interesting their young members, and particularly in their later quiet recognition or at least permitted cultivation, of music as one of the refining and salutary agencies of advancing age.

Such are some of my recollections of Benjamin Ferris. As before stated he was a man of scholarly tastes and graceful attainments. Being a philosopher and thinker rather than an active man of affairs, he never sought popularity; but while averse to prominent action in public and especially

in political matters, he was a man of genuine public spirit and his liberal and enlightened views inured to the public benefit. I am proud and glad to have known him and feel the better for the knowledge, while in common with those who were honored with his personal friendship. I esteem it a privilege to have lived in the same community where resided so genial a friend, so true a gentleman and so wise and good a man.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

OF THE

“BENJAMIN FERRIS EVENING.”

CONTRIBUTED BY PENNOCK PUSEY.

The meeting of the Historical Society of Delaware, on Monday night, in commemoration of the character and services of the late Benjamin Ferris, the historian, was in so many ways a profitable and delightful occasion that the absence of a stenographic report of the bright sayings improvised thereat is much to be regretted.

Beside the written papers read, brief observations were offered by several of the audience, including Edward Betts, Henry F. Pickels and Elwood Garrett, while longer remarks were made by William Ferris, son of the historian, and by Ezra Fell and William M. Canby. The two last-named gentlemen bore truthful and touching testimonies to the moral worth, kindly attributes and great services of the deceased. Mr. Canby, in particular, in a graceful address, paid a most feeling and felicitous tribute to the virtues of Benjamin Ferris as a scholar, Christian and citizen, whose beneficent influence will long continue to be felt in Wilmington.

But perhaps the audience, if not the best entertained, were most amused with the anecdotes told by William Ferris about his father, among which was one touching upon the well known and very intimate friendship once existing between the Hon. John M. Clayton and Benjamin Ferris, the latter having been a long and ardent admirer of the Delaware statesman.

It seems that a benevolent and wealthy gentleman of Pennsylvania, who had once lived in Wilmington, where he had observed the great number and needs of the colored people, left by will a considerable part of a large fortune to establish some kind of an institution for their benefit, of which bequest Benjamin Ferris was left in charge as executor or trustee. Upon the death of the philanthropist his heirs, craving the whole estate, sought to break the will; but from its perfect regularity they could find no possible grounds for it, and employed John M. Clayton, as the ablest lawyer in the state, to aid them in their difficult and nefarious purpose. After a long and vain search for any real basis for the unjust end sought, Mr. Clayton, by some means, found a couple of old letters which seemed to imply that there had been some kind of correspondence between Benjamin Ferris and William Lloyd Garrison, the noted Boston abolitionist. The letters had no possible connection with the matter at issue, nor bearing upon it.

But it was the counsel's last opportunity and, plying the arts of an unscrupulous lawyer, he took advantage of a strong pro-slavery sentiment then prevalent and drew a harrowing picture of a secret conspiracy forming between Southern slaves and Northern abolitionists for a bloody negro insurrection, in aid of which a secret department of the proposed establishment to be built by the bequest, as he declared, was to be devoted to drilling our colored people and teaching them how to manufacture and use fire arms; and that we would all be in momentary danger of butchery if the will should stand and the institution be established.

The effect of the graphic and lurid consequences predicted by an eloquent tongue to an ignorant and prejudiced

jury, in the old slavery days, may readily be imagined, especially by our older citizens. The will was broken and the charitable purpose of the bequest defeated.

Benjamin Ferris felt unspeakably aggrieved and outraged, and he reproached Mr. Clayton with much feeling for his inexcusable falsehoods and base behavior. The lawyer sought to appease his old friend by declaring that he had not impugned his motives, nor made any personal charges against him. Mr. Ferris replied that the personal effect upon him was of little consequence, but that he had frustrated a noble and generous charity, causing a great loss as well to the whole community as to the people of the unfortunate race who were its special beneficiaries. "And this, too, not by legitimate and sanctioned legal practice," added Mr. Ferris, "which are bad enough, 'but by what thou well knowest to be wicked and atrocious falsehoods. We have been good friends, but I can have no further intercourse with one capable of such baseness.'" And so their long friendship was severed.

It is due to both of these distinguished men to add what the speaker omitted from his remarks, the other evening—i. e. that John M. Clayton afterward sorrowfully declared that he would rather have forfeited double the \$3,000 fee he received in this case than lose the good-will of such a man as Benjamin Ferris.

And now, as further pertinent to the character of the man, it seems fitting to close this supplementary account of the meeting by appending extracts from letters there read, written by two estimable women of our city, the first a relative of Mr. Ferris and the other a venerable acquaintance, whose steady hand and well-expressed thoughts are remarkable in a woman ninety-three years of age.

Speaking of her uncle, the late Benjamin Ferris, the woman first referred to writes, as follows :

“His courtesy and kindness, combined with a sweet graciousness which never left him, made him to me the embodiment of an old-time gentleman. I am sure that must be the general impression of those who were privileged to know him. I can only regret not being able to oblige thee by any contribution better worth the giving. My best wishes for an evening which cannot fail in interest because of a man whom his friends delight to honor. Cordially his friend and thine,

S. S. SMITH.”

The second letter is as follows :—

“Dear Friend. I would be glad, if I could, to comply with thy request to contribute some reminiscences of Benjamin Ferris to the meeting of the Historical Society on the 19th instant, but I was not familiarly acquainted with him, and can recall, I believe, no incident connected with his life, though of course so prominent a figure in Wilmington as he was for so many years could not be entirely unknown to me.

“Personally, he always impressed me as one born into an atmosphere of great refinement and culture, his gentlemanly bearing and fine courtesy of manners never leaving him under any circumstances, and continuing markedly into his old age; and that he was also intellectually cultured, was evidenced by his well-known researches into history, and by other contributions to the press of the day.

Truly thy friend,

M. C. WORRELL.”

PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.
XXXVIII.

HISTORY OF LEWES, DELAWARE.

BY
PENNOCK PUSEY,
HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE SOCIETY.

Read before the Historical Society of Delaware, Nov. 17, 1902.

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HISTORY OF LEWES.

Of the several European projects which in the seventeenth century caused the great deportation of people from the Old World to the shores of the New, none was more remarkable than that which was actively promoted by the Lords States General of Holland. The United Provinces were then the greatest maritime power of the world, and the zeal for fresh discoveries with a growing thirst for extension of trade, sent the ships of the little Dutch republic into all known ports, while unknown marts were keenly sought in the then persistent efforts to find a new passage to India across the American continent.

While religious motives in some form more or less inspired emigration from most other countries, trade was the dominant purpose of the Dutch, religious propagation and other objects being the resulting and secondary incidents of the primary inspiration. But the latter, however originating, were the achievements which have had most immediate concern with the progress and history of mankind; and it is here that the early Dutch navigators won imperishable and deserved renown.

While it is generally conceded that the Spaniards as early as 1526 had explored the whole Atlantic coast as far North as the thirty-fifth degree of latitude it is certain that the practical discoverer of Delaware Bay and River was Henry Hudson, an English navigator in the service of the Dutch

East India Company. The journals both of Hudson and of Robert Juet, his first officer, show that the discovery was made on the 28th of August, 1609, and they detail the courses and distances sailed along the coast, and the soundings off the bars and within the capes which have since been found remarkably accurate. Upon incontestable evidence, thus definite and circumstantial, the Dutch laid claim to the adjacent territory as against the vague and sweeping assumptions of the English under the general discovery of the Cabots in the prior century. Unfortunately for the Dutch they were slow in asserting their prior right, which gave ground for the English contest, until organized colonization and actual occupancy of new territory became requisite for rightful ownership. But not less by this juster test than by their prior discovery had the Dutch the first valid claim to what is now Delaware territory. It was a claim moreover founded upon recognition of the prior right of the natives, of whom the land had been purchased, and it was sealed with the blood of the purchasers; for it was the Dutch expedition of De Vries, provided with all requisites for actual cultivation of the soil that in April, 1631, landed near Lewes and began the settlement which suffered a sad massacre from the Indians—an event to be more fully noticed hereafter.

Hudson in 1610 again came to the New World with a trading cargo, which he exchanged with the Indians for furs, and the following year a voyage was made by Hendrick Christiaensen and Adrien Block with the Schipper Rysar, who returned with a valuable cargo of furs, together with two red men, sons of Indian chiefs. This so quickened the curiosity and public interest in the new land that a memorial

upon the subject was sent to the Provincial States of Holland and copies distributed formally to their principal cities. Then followed a succession of voyages, among which was that of the ship *Fortune*, commanded by Captain Cornelius Jacobson Mey, from whom Cape May derived its name. In the same fleet was Block's vessel, the *Tiger*, which was destroyed by fire when about to sail for home. But her undaunted navigator, while the other vessels pursued their return voyage, built a hut on the shore of a little island, where he spent the winter of 1613-14 in constructing a boat to take the place of the burnt *Tiger*.

This new craft, the first built in America, was 38 feet keel, 44½ feet long, 11 feet wide and 16 tonnage. She was christened *Onrust* or *Restless*, and although scarcely larger than a modern fishing smack or oyster shallop, was destined to great historic fame; for it was with this diminutive vessel that Captain Cornelius Hendrickson in 1615-16 made a thorough exploration of Delaware Bay and River, at least as far north as the mouth of the Schuylkill. In the course of his adventures the enterprising explorer ascended our Christiana, where he met a band of Minqua Indians with whom he traded; and it should prove a matter of some interest to our immediate community that perhaps on the very spot where Wilmington now stands the captain held a friendly conference with the red men, from whom moreover he rescued three white captives who had wandered from the Dutch fort on the Hudson. That immediately hereabouts was the scene of these events there can be little doubt, since here was the first upland reached after ascending through the marshes, a locality which was long a favorite abiding place of the Indians and from whom our

first Swedish settlers subsequently purchased their landing place and town site.

While authorities differ as to the extent of Hendricksen's cruise through the Delaware, there is no good reason for doubting the truth of the explorer's own report which distinctly states that he "discovered and explored certain lands, a bay and three rivers situate between 38 and 40 degrees;" nor can we fairly doubt that Hendricksen, as the first explorer in detail of the Delaware Bay and River, was the first white man to tread the soil of what is now Delaware territory, while the experience of nearly three centuries has confirmed the accuracy of his report respecting the character of the country, its trees, streams, native fruits, wild animals, abundant game and temperate climate. Indeed, while, for some reason Hendricksen failed to receive proper reward or recognition at home, his services were of incalculable value in first acquainting the Old World with the resources of the New; and while he was thus persistently laboring with little hope of reward, others, less deserving, were soon to be unduly rewarded. Fleet after fleet, carrying multiplied adventurers, hastened across to America in an eager race for gain. For on the 27th of March, 1614, the High and Mighty States General of Holland had issued their famous ordinance or edict granting and conceding to whomsoever should from that time forward discover any "new passages, havens, lands and places," the exclusive right of navigating to the same for four voyages, provided such discoverers made "pertinent" reports thereof within fourteen days of their return.

The effect of this prodigious stimulus was to enlist fresh capital and to vastly increase the number of exploring ves-

sels coasting the new continent. A single summer sufficed to so augment the number and greed of adventurers that the demand for new countries and their fabulous treasures exceeded the supply; and upon the return of the vessels in the fall the navigators and their merchant associates drew up their reports with charts of their several discoveries, and hastened to The Hague to claim the concessions offered by the official edict. Unfolding their maps and warming with eloquent tales in the wondering presence of the twelve High Mightinesses the navigators enlarged upon their various adventures, told of losses and gains, travails and triumphs, and, depicting a future of Dutch glory as the harvest of their sacrifices, they demanded the promised reward. It was promptly granted; and by a special charter under the date of the 11th of October, 1614, the adventurers acquired control of the entire Atlantic coast from Canada, then New France, to Virginia, embracing the whole region from the 40th to the 45th parallel of latitude, to which was given the name of New Netherlands. To this vast territory the grantees had the exclusive right to trade for five years—a monopoly which would seem to dwarf the soaring proportions of modern plutocracy and belittle its most expanded Trusts.

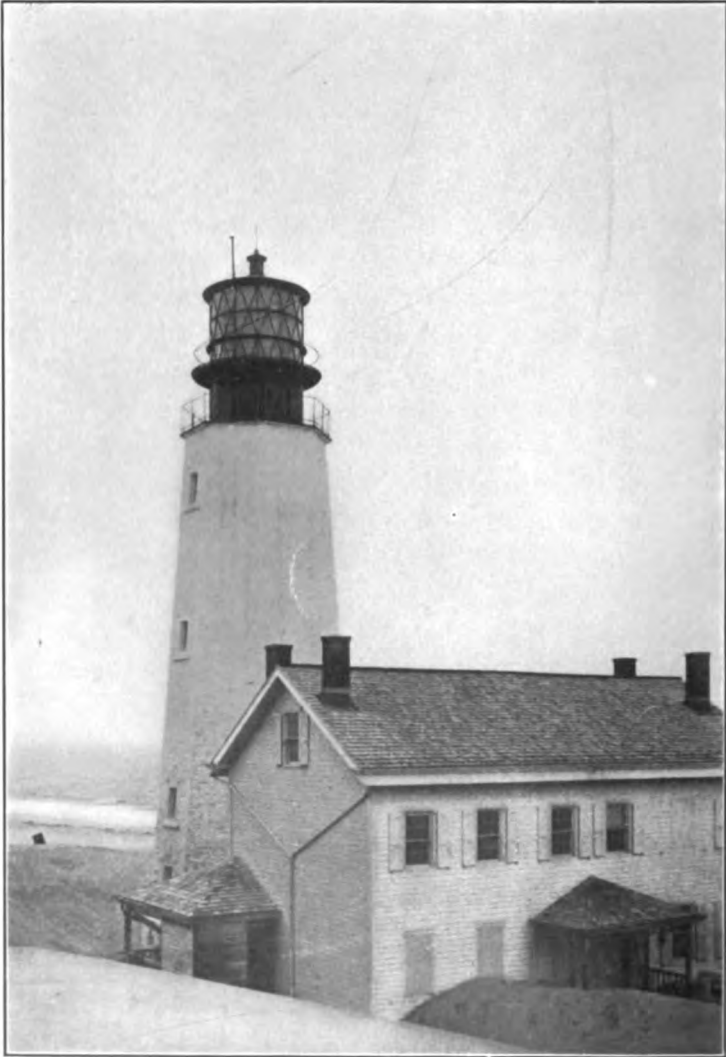
The so-called “discoveries” thus so summarily rewarded could have comprised, in such brief voyages, little more than passing observations largely conjectural, and there is no evidence extant that any of these privileged vessels entered the Delaware; but there was one little craft, we have seen, that not only entered but thoroughly explored the rivers, creeks and harbors of our fronting waters and traded with the natives along their shores. Long after the returned

adventurers had received their huge reward abroad the little home-built Restless, without reward, continued her busy career of exploration. To her bold commander, Captain Cornelius Hendrickson, honor was due alike for his humane release of the Indian captives on the *Christiana* and for the invaluable information he contributed respecting the character and resources of the country. While little of such information has been preserved it is known to have materially facilitated the organization of that great Dutch West India Company, which was so large a factor in the early colonial history of America.

Deserving to rank with Usselinx, Minuit and other earnest leaders of American colonization, Hendrickson was thus an effective co-adjutor in their cherished scheme; and at last their patient and persevering labors were rewarded by the formal incorporation on the 3d of June, 1621, of the great Dutch organization whose autocratic and comprehensive powers perhaps the world never saw paralleled in the history of granted franchises.

But with the usual abuse of irresponsible power members of this Dutch West India Company soon launched upon a career wholly foreign to the peaceful purposes for which it was constituted. The war with Spain affording a fair pretext they pursued a course of privateering that became little short of colossal piracy against the commerce of Spain and Portugal. This yielded such enormous spoils that they unblushingly protested against a proposed peace or truce upon the naive and quaint plea candidly expressed in their memorial that their company, formed wholly for a peaceful object could not exist without war !

Nevertheless there were some shrewd and conservative,



CAPE HENLOPEN LIGHTHOUSE.

yet energetic, members who did not forget the original purpose of the company, but honestly believed in the profit and prosperity to result from its legitimate pursuit of colonization and commercial projects. Among these men of substance were John De Laet, the historian; Killiaen Van Rensselaer, Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert. These men, with others of prudent and prophetic views, secured from the so-called assembly or "College of Nineteen" a charter of Exemptions and Privileges," which was confirmed by the States General on the 7th of June, 1629, under which enormous tracts of land and extraordinary powers, privileges and franchises were accorded to all such as should plant colonies or settlements in New Netherlands.

This was the original basis of that patroon system of vast land tenure that specially characterized the early settlement of New York State. It was provided that on certain conditions members could send, on the company's ships, three or four persons as agents to select lands, and that after first satisfying the Indian's right to the same and defining the desired boundaries such members should become the feudal lords or patroons over tracts of fixed size, on condition that on each of them a colony of not less than 50 adults should be planted within four years. These tracts for colonial settlement might be 64 miles in length or half that extent if on two sides of a navigable river, and they were acquired in absolute fee simple by the patroons who were sole magistrates, and, within their own bounds "had chief command and dower jurisdiction," with the exclusive privilege of fishing, fowling and milling, and of founding cities and appointing officers. They prohibited all manufacturing, retained complete monopoly of the fur trade, and in all other

respects the patroons were to be sovereign in their lordship.

Thus in the virgin soil of the New World where equality in human conditions it was fondly hoped might take root, were sown the seeds of privilege—in the heart of that primal domain where the free air bred jealous individuality and the chance of a fair and equal start for all, there was planted a complete feudal system; and a landed aristocracy of pretentious and alien purpose strutted its brief hour on the broad theatre destined for freest democracy.

Among the earliest tracts secured under this bountiful charter were two on either shore of lower Delaware Bay, the one on the East taken by Samuel Godyn and the other on the West by Samuel Blommaert. The tract taken by Godyn, after whom the bay was then named, included Cape May and a large surrounding area, while the land selected by Blommaert comprised a tract in the southeast corner of what is now Delaware, 32 miles long north and south, and two miles wide east and west. Two persons had been sent from Holland in 1629 to examine the land and make the requisite preliminary purchase from the Indians, and the patent for the tract was registered and confirmed on the 1st of June, 1630. While it is impossible at this day to identify the exact inland boundaries of this domain it is certain to have embraced the entire water frontage of what is now Sussex county upon ocean and bay and to have included the present sites of Rehoboth and Lewes. And thus our little State had a colonial connection with New York in its scheme of settlement and at least a corner of its territory was involved in the operations of the huge patroon landed interests of that State. For, the early example of Godyn and Blommaert on the South or Delaware Bay was speedily followed by others

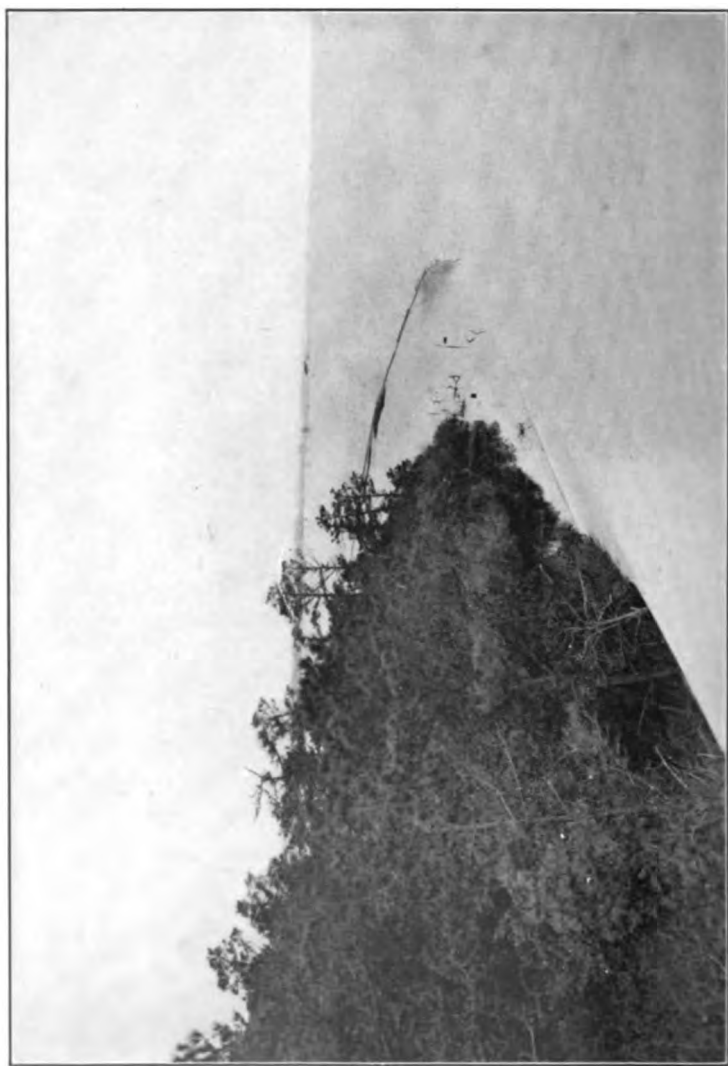
on the North or Hudson River among the most conspicuous of the latter being Van Rensselaer, whose tract embraced nearly all of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer.

But these lords of the soil, grasping as they gained, and, fired with visions of coming wealth and power, soon began to quarrel among themselves, and as soon, felt impelled, in order to avoid exposure of questionable transactions, to make an equal division of their vast acquisitions to quiet the disaffected partners concerned. Then as the colonization and actual occupancy and cultivation of the land were necessary to complete good titles to the great estates Blommaert prepared an expedition provided with cattle, farming implements and other requisites to that end, to be sent to the Delaware for due settlement, over which he appointed as commander David Pietersen De Vries of Hoorn, a bold and skilful navigator and master of artillery of the United Provinces. This great seaman and explorer who had just returned from a three years cruise in the East Indies was at first offered but a secondary position among the titled operators, but declining any part under the highest assignment, his equality was recognized, and he was made full patroon on the 16th of October, 1630. The expedition sailed from the Texel in the ensuing December; it comprised the ship *Walvis* or *Whale* of 18 guns, and a yacht which, in addition to immigrants and farming supplies, carried implements for capturing whales, which were thought to be plentiful about the region of Delaware Bay.

Such was the origin and character of a voyage of historic fame known as the "De Vries" expedition. Yet the best sources of information favor the belief that De Vries himself did not sail with this first expedition, but that it was

commanded by Peter Heyes, and reached South or Goodyn or Delaware Bay in April, 1631. Sailing up the western shore the two vessels passed the sandy point, now known as Cape Henlopen, and entered what was recorded as "a fine navigable stream filled with islands, abounding in good oysters" and flowing through a fertile region. They were met by the land odors and saw the bursting vegetation of a smiling April; and, wearied with the ship odors and the confinement and monotony of a four months' sea voyage, the immigrants gladly yielded to the allurements of the fragrant new home in its fresh spring apparel. There they landed with their supplies and their appliances for farming, for whale-fishing and for a permanent fixed settlement in a virginal and new land of promise. The settlers were about thirty in number, all males, and nearby, in good faith and high hopes they began that first Delaware colony which was destined to so brief an existence and so sad a fate.

The stream they had ascended, now known as Lewes creek, was then named Hoornkill in honor of De Vries, whose Holland residence was in Hoorn, while the landing place of this first Delaware colony to which the name was also applied, was nearly identical with the site of the existing Lewes; and here thus began the eventful history of the little Delaware town. Moreover the whole settlement was also called Zwaanendael or "Valley of Swans," from the number of those beautiful birds there found, and the land it comprised was, as a precautionary or confirmative measure again purchased for the patroons on the 5th of May, 1631, by the captain and commissary of the expedition from ten Indian chiefs belonging probably to the Nanticoke or Tide Water Indians, a tribe of the great Leni-Lenape or



THE SAND MOUNTAIN NEAR LEWES.

self-called "Grandfathers" or "Original People," comprising forty or more tribes which originally inhabited the great central belt of what is now the United States.

A small building with surrounding palisades was erected near the landing place, it is supposed, and then the commander, Peter Heyes, crossing over to Cape May there made a similar Indian purchase of a large tract of land in what is now southern New Jersey in behalf of the patroons. Being then not long in ascertaining that little was to be expected from catching whales in that locality, Captain Heyes in September sailed for Holland, leaving the commissary, Gillis Hossett, in command of Fort Oplandt and the colony of Zwaanendael.

The tragic event that followed furnishes a vivid page of early colonial history. The colony was suddenly cut off without a survivor by the Indians. It was the first and probably the only blood of white men that ever stained Delaware soil by red men, at least in their tribal or concerted action. Why and how the massacre occurred was never known with certainty, but it became a general belief that it resulted from the unwise and hasty conduct of Hossett and his men. The Dutch had erected, according to their custom, a pillar, probably as one of their boundary marks, which bore upon it a piece of tin traced with the coat of arms of the United Provinces. One of the chiefs, attracted by the shining article, with an innocent but mistaken impulse, thoughtlessly possessed himself of the piece of tin of which he wanted to make pipes. For this act he was violently rebuked and threatened with punishment. The offender tried to explain that he meant no offence and offered ample compensation for what he had ignorantly

taken, but he continued to be harshly abused by his accusers, who would listen to no plea for neighborly peace and good will. The Indians were all extremely anxious to appease the whites, of whom they stood in great awe, and, that nothing might be lacking in their zeal to atone for the offence, they slew the offending chief and brought his scalp in token of their act to Fort Oplandt. Instead of receiving the thanks and friendly return for which they had persistently labored the Indians were assailed with renewed violence for the very act by which they had meant propitiation, and they went away in great displeasure and despair. Then some friends of the murdered chief who had taken no part in the matter, feeling outraged at the harsh and unjust behaviour of the whites, sought revenge, and, stealing upon them when all but one sick man were at work in the fields, slew them at their labor, and then hastened to the fort, killed its one sick occupant as well as a huge chained dog on guard.

Such was the story told afterward by the Indians, for they left no white survivor to report differently of the butchery. While open to doubt in some particulars De Vries appears to have believed the account as afterward related to him, and there seems no reason to question its substantial truth.

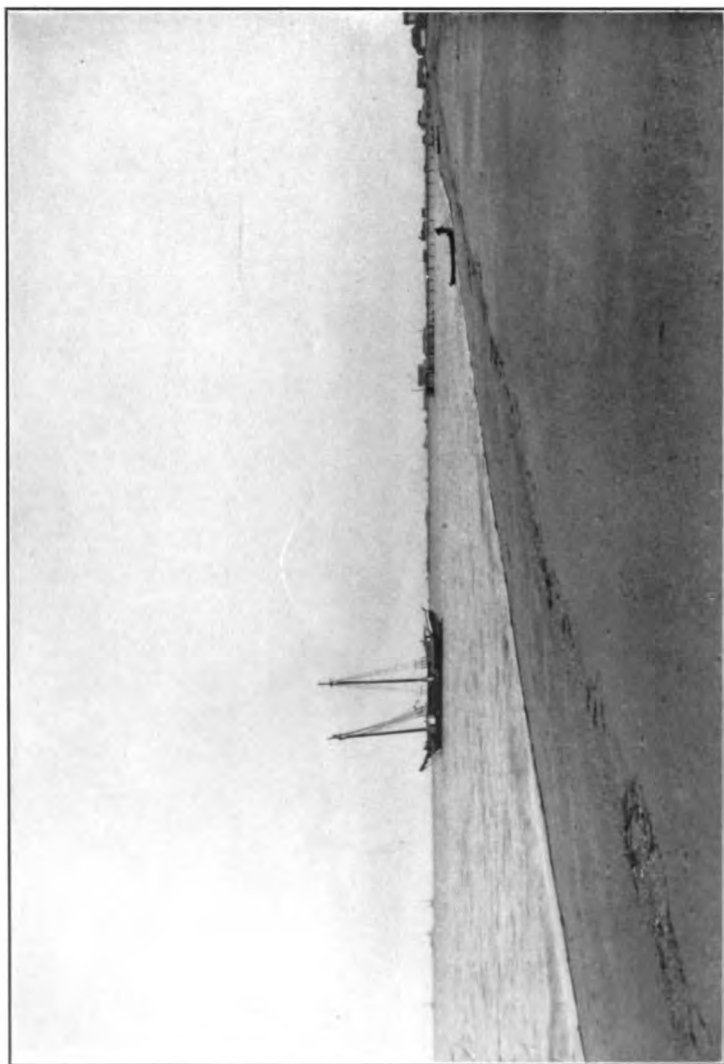
But however sad its fate and brief its existence this early settlement and actual occupancy of Delaware soil was a vital factor in the attainment of our civic autonomy and separate existence as a sovereign State ; for it precluded our being absorbed into the territory of Maryland. The royal patent to Lord Baltimore of the next year, issued in 1632, having expressly restricted the grant to lands "uncultivated

and inhabited by savages," it necessarily exempted lands which the "Savages" had already disposed of and "Christians" had "cultivated." Such was substantially the decision of the Lord's Commissioners after a patient hearing, and a decree of the King's Council issued in 1685 in order "to avoid further differences," divided the disputed peninsula equally between the opposing claimants by drawing a line from a point equally distant from each bay on the latitude of Cape Henlopen running northward to the Pennsylvania boundary. The "latitude of Cape Henlopen" here quoted was that of the original Cape Henlopen at the southeast corner of our State, and the decision was a distinct recognition of both the southern and western boundaries of Delaware as now existing; and although the representatives of Maryland's claim rejected the settlement and long contended for the whole peninsula, the decision was the basis of the ultimate adjustment of the long pending controversy between the heirs of William Penn and those of Lord Baltimore.

Thus again was historic Lewes, in the first tragic experience of the place, deeply involved with the momentous problems pertaining to the very existence of the State. And the fact of the bloody baptism and early disappearance of the little colony instead of affording ground for ignoring Delaware's prior claim to territorial existence, would seem to lend pathos and add a quickened sense of historic sympathy to considerations of justice regarding the tragedy. Yet Lord Baltimore's claim to the whole area of Delaware was wholly baseless except by taking advantage of the colonist's misfortunes, disregarding their prior cultivation of the soil and assuming the rightful repossession by the Indians of the land they

had fairly sold to actual settlers. The latter had acted in good faith, and their vacation of the premises was not their choice but their cruel fate—an end deserving the kindly consideration rather than the envious cupidity of rival claimants.

Early in the year following the massacre De Vries had made preparations for sailing from Holland with more settlers for Zwaanendael when the startling news of its destruction reached him. Deferring his departure some months, he sailed in the fall and, after a weary voyage, reached Delaware Bay in early December, and after taking precautions against an apprehended surprise from hostile Indians, De Vries sailed up the Hoorncill and even before landing saw growing evidence that his worst fears were to be realized. The stockade and various buildings forming the strong hold of Fort Oplandt were in ruins, and destruction was seen on every side. But they failed to see the worst until they reached the spot where the settlers had met their cruel fate. There they found the ground bestrewn with the skeletons of their slaughtered countrymen and near at hand the remains of their cattle. It was a scene of oppressive awe; silence, ruin and desolation reigned in the once lovely valley, and the searchers returned sorrowfully to the ship. Seeing no Indians, De Vries ordered a gun to be fired, hoping to bring some of them to the ship; but none came until the following day when several appeared cautiously near the ruins of the fort, but declined approaching the ship, apparently signaling the whites to come to them. De Vries, anxious to gain particulars of the massacre went ashore the next day and held a parley with them, and after much delay and skillful persuasion so far gained their



THE BEACH AT LEWES.

confidence as to attract some of the Indians on board where he heard from them the account of the tragedy substantially as here given.

De Vries, who was a wise and just man, did not care to investigate too closely a deed which was beyond recall or amendment to any good end ; but he felt assured it resulted from some provocative or brutal conduct of his own men, whom he well knew to be capable of cruel debauchery and he attributed the killing of Hossett and his men to "mere jangling with the Indians," to use his own words, and instead of seeking revenge or continuing a bloody quarrel with them, he made a treaty of peace with the red men and sealed it by making them the customary presents of duffels, kettles, &c.

Lingering through December in and near the Hoornkill or Lewes Creek, De Vries, on New Year's Day, 1633, sailed northward and reached Fort Nassau, near Gloucester, on the 5th of January. After a river cruise and some conferences with Indian chiefs he dropped down stream and lay for a time near the mouth of Minqua's kill, now our Christiana, where he encountered cold weather and obstructing ice, and thence returned to Zwaanendael. Arriving there on the 20th of February De Vries within a fortnight again weighed anchor and sailing for Virginia, there procured supplies for his colony. Upon his return he found his men had in his absence taken a number of whales yielding considerable oil, but he thought these returns not sufficient to justify the expenses involved, and, as the colony was now too small for self-support and defence against the natives De Vries took the few remaining adventurers and sailing homeward by way of Manhattan reached Holland sometime in the summer of 1633.

Thus was the South or Delaware Bay abandoned to the red natives. The hush and solemnity of primeval nature once more reigned supreme, and for five years until the coming of the Swedes in 1638 its solitudes were unvexed with the presence of Europeans. But as before stated, such abandonment was not the voluntary act of the colonists. Their desertion of the country was not their choice, but their misfortune. The De Vries settlement of 1631 was made for the valid purposes of actual occupancy and cultivation of the soil, both of which were achieved before the savage slaughter of the occupants and cultivators. This exempted the land from the grant to Lord Baltimore, made on the 20th of June, 1632, and thus neither by the accepted English rule established under Queen Elizabeth's reign requiring occupancy of wild land to secure its possession, nor upon any basis of precedent, principle or justice could the proprietary of Maryland fairly ground a claim for the possession of Delaware.

The first white occupants of the site of Lewes had probably been Dutch traders who established a post there for Indian traffic as early as 1622. Following the Indian massacre of the De Vries settlement in 1631, the Dutch two years later, as before stated, totally abandoned the region of the Delaware Bay, but they continued their possession of New York, then New Amsterdam, and having regained control of northern Delaware by the conquest of the Swedish forts at New Castle and Christiana in 1655, they held at least nominal rule over lower Delaware, and in 1658 re-established a post at Lewes for trading with the Indians. But they were in constant dread of English claims to the country, and with a view of strengthening their

title Beekman and D'Hinoyossa, representing the interests, respectively of the West India Company and of the City of Amsterdam, its creditor, came down from northern Delaware to the Hoorncill and sent word to Indian chiefs to meet them for a new treaty of peace and land trade. In this they were successful as shown by a report to Governor Stuyvesant, under date of June 14th, 1659, and the same year a fort was built at the Hoorncill for defence against apprehended assault from the English. And thus for the second time the Dutch secured the Indians' title and prior right to the country embracing the site of Lewes.

It is not certainly known when the first actual settlers came to the Hoorncill after the Indian massacre in 1631, but following the re-establishment of the Dutch trading post in 1658 and the Dutch surrender to the English in 1664, all customs were abolished in October, 1670, when new settlers began to come in and by a census taken May 8th, 1671, there was a total population of 47 in the Hoorncill, while transfers of landed property, which had already commenced, became more numerous. On the 7th of July, 1665, 80 acres were granted to Alexander Molestedy (Molestine) "lying upon Whorekill neare unto the mouth of the kill," and 130 acres to Hermanus Wiltbank on the Whorekill and Pagan's Creek. On the 12th of January, 1670, a grant was made to James Mills of a "neck of land lying to the southward of the town called Whorekill," while following the English conquest in 1664 among the earliest deeds for land in lower Delaware was one for a tract from the British governor, Sir Francis Lovelace on the 2d of July, 1672, to Hermanus Frederick Wiltbank, designated as "all that piece of land at the Horekill signed and called Lewes, in Delaware Bay,

which piece of land is called ye West India fort." It would be well to say here, however, as a matter of curious history, if nothing more, that prior to any land transfers by or to English parties, on the 7th of February, 1635, two years after the departure of De Vries and his colonists the whole of the patroon lands stretching 32 miles along the Delaware shore, including the site of Lewes, and embracing 12 square miles, including Cape May on the New Jersey side, were sold by Godyn, Blommaert and associates to the Dutch West India Co. for 15,600 guilders or \$6,240, constituting the first land sale between white parties upon the Delaware Bay or River, and probably ending in this region all individual landed interests held under patroon tenure.

During their brief re-possession of power the Dutch in 1673 established a court at Lewes, which was continued by the English when they resumed control the following year. When the new justices were appointed May 28th, 1680, they took steps looking to a permanent seat of government, and upon petition for a change of name Gov. Andross promptly rechristened the Horekill or Whorekill, both being a corruption of the original Hoornkill, with the name of "Deale," which appellation it bore until the coming of William Penn, who named the county Sussex, while Lewes took its name from an English town in the English shire of Sussex.

Under the new auspices linked with William Penn's acquisition of the country, a new interest was inspired in Lewes with special hopes of making it a merchant port. The court was instructed to grant titles upon conditions implying the building of good sized houses on pain of fine and forfeiture, upon which basis various improvements were encouraged, and quaint petitions urged with odd specifica-

tions, are to be found in the curious transactions of its ancient records. John Brown, shipbuilder, petitioned the court for "a lotte at Lewes on which he might build a sloop or shallop, as the one he now occupys is not fit;" and the same year William Beverly was sued by Hermanus Wiltbank for neglect of his work in building the vessel. Shipbuilding was then a growing industry in Lewes, while the records show that tobacco was then largely grown and used in nearly all business transactions.

From various causes largely connected with the Quaker immigration and influence led by William Penn, Lewes now had a fairly prosperous growth, and by a census taken in 1725 the town contained 58 families, while 15 families were settled at Quatertown two miles inland. Among the settlers at Lewes after Penn's arrival in 1682 where a number of immigrants from Scotland and northern Ireland, who belonged to the religious sect called "Independents," to whom came, about the year 1691, the Rev. Samuel Davis as preacher, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. This appears to have been the beginning of organized religious movements, and during the ensuing 30 years various denominations established themselves, while the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent over as missionary the Rev. William Beckett, who, selecting Lewis as a centre of operation, settled himself here in September, 1721; but the first church structure in Lewes was not finished until 1728. On October 3d, 1739, the eminent George Whitefield preached in Lewes and afterward reported that he thought its chief inhabitants "not troubled by the tender and melting story of a Saviour's sacrifice." In June, 1773, Gov. John Penn presented St. Peter's Church

with an elegant communion service, which is still in use. The town has not been without seasons of special advancement, including improvement among its colored population, in religious and other matters.

Corresponding progress was attained in educational matters which elicited the early interest of William Penn and his associates, with whom Lewes always seemed a favorite locality. Pertaining to this subject an interesting relic has recently been unearthed. In digging a cellar at Quakertown two miles distant workmen found beneath the surface a metallic seal about an inch and a half in diameter inscribed with the clearly cut words "Trustees of Penn's School Charter of Lewes." It bears no date and little has yet been ascertained regarding it, but it would seem to indicate a project early proposed in behalf of education and an early recognition of the importance of Lewes as the seat of such a movement, much as the historic interest and early importance of the place receive additional emphasis from its still standing ancient school house where four of Delaware's governors began their early education, coupled with the fact that in a single one of its burial places rest the remains of four of the same rank of chief magistrates formerly ruling its affairs. And here it would seem not amiss to refer to the early reputation borne by Lewes as a town of intelligence, when with other provisions for proper reading matter it was quaintly observed that they could not be fairly deemed supplied without a certain newspaper printed in Philadelphia by one Benjamin Franklin; leaving the fair inference that the "certain newspaper" was accordingly duly subscribed for and faithfully perused by the good people of the intelligent town.

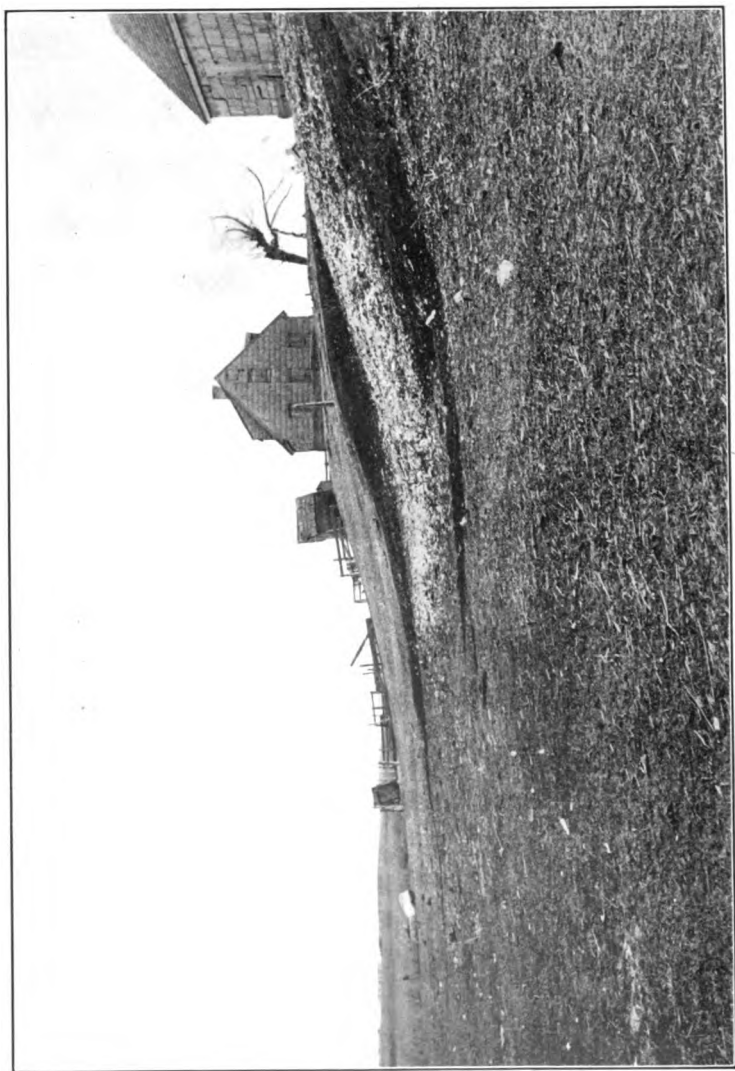
By virtue of the king's authority and long usage confirmed

by express grant by the heirs of William Penn the tract of sandy level and marsh lying between Lewes and the bay was early consecrated as a public commons for the people's benefit; and by subsequent acts of the Legislature and Court of Quarter Sessions it was placed in charge of trustees. Since 1871 the control of the commons has been vested in the commissioners of the town, who authorized improvements to be made and buildings erected on leased lots. A highway across the marsh to the beach skirting the immediate bay front has also been constructed and wharves built out into deep water by which additional facilities it has been made possible to encourage shipping in lieu of that ruined by the filling up of the olden Hoornkill or modern Lewes Creek.

Lewes occupies both a protected and exposed situation—the one afforded by nature, the other incident to man. While sheltered from the ocean behind its sandhill cape, its very security conspires with its fine site, its watery accessibility and the supporting fertility of its back country, to offer a tempting bait to sea marauders regular and irregular. In the colonial period in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century the coast was much harassed by pirates as well as in both the Revolutionary struggle and War of 1812. During the period first named French privateers threatened to lay waste such towns as refused to pay them tribute, and the court, fearing Lewes might prove a salient point for attack, took action on the 15th of July, 1695, to provide for a watch on the cape. Their fears were not immediately realized, but on the 27th of August, 1698, French pirates landed and pillaged nearly every house in Lewes. At the beginning of the war for independence early in 1775, a permanent lookout scout was stationed at Lewes, fifty to one hundred men

were kept on guard at the lighthouse and pilots were warned against bringing any British armed vessels up the bay.

Lewes indeed contributed her full share to the success of our Revolutionary struggle and the trials and anxieties it involved. Originally of royal English stock the people of lower Delaware and adjoining Maryland counties were kept by their Peninsular isolation out of touch with the general growth of resistance to British oppression, and were very loath to cease their long devotion to the throne of their fathers. This greatly encouraged Tory hopes and emboldened the supporters of England in her course. Yet it was in Lewes that the largest assemblage ever seen in the State convened on the 28th of July, 1774, in earnest and devoted sympathy with the people of Boston when the British Parliament closed their port following the memorable wreckage of tea in Boston harbor. The principal speaker was Thomas McKean, the future "signer" of the Declaration of Independence, and in response to his stirring and exhaustive appeal to make common cause with the Bostonians the meeting took prompt action for home rights, fairly leading off in certain lines in radical proposals for redress of grievances. And it was doubtless this resolute and defiant tone from a comparatively Tory quarter that at once aided in ripening colonial resistance into unity of feeling and gave early prominence to Delawareans in the Continental Congress. Moreover it is worthy of note that at this early meeting in behalf of liberty the eloquent McKean with consistent faith and prescient wisdom deprecated the prevalence of African slavery and hoped that an honorable expedient might soon "be found to put an end to an institution so dishonorable to us and so provoking to the most benevolent Parent of the Universe."



LANDING-PLACE OF FIRST SETTLERS AT LEWES IN 1631, AFTERWARDS SITE OF FORT
IN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF 1812.

Perhaps no place of equal size exceeded Lewes in the number and prominence of its actors in the Revolutionary struggle. The natives of the town included Shepherd Kollock, the distinguished officer, journalist and efficient patriot who fought at Trenton and other battles and afterward published newspapers in various places—and Colonel David Hall, who raised a company in the town which participated in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth and in the South—and who later recruited the celebrated Delaware Line Regiment, of which he became colonel, and fought through the war. These and other natives and residents of the town plunged with great zeal into the struggle. On the 27th of March, 1776, Henry Fisher of Lewes, notified the Pennsylvania Committee that the enemy had appeared in the Lewes roads, when preparations for resistance were promptly begun. On the 11th of June, 1776, the Lewes Committee notified Congress of the reported assemblage of one thousand Tories at a spot eighteen miles distant, who intended to co-operate with the British vessels in front of Lewes. The British frigate *Roebuck* had manœuvered before Lewes with many threats and a few shots at the town with little effect, when in the first week of May she was joined by the sloop of war *Liverpool*, twenty-eight guns, and the two vessels sailed northward and cruised between Chester and the mouth of the *Christiana* where, in front of Wilmington, they were attacked by American row-galleys under Captain Houston of Philadelphia, and forced to retreat.

This was the first naval encounter with the enemy in the struggle for national existence while the last sea fight to that glorious end was the battle of April 8th, 1782, when

the American sloop of war Hyder Alley, Captain Barney, defeated the British sloop General Monk at the entrance of Delaware Bay. Thus the opening and close of the naval part of the Revolutionary War occurred on Delaware waters, the first in front of Wilmington at one end of the State, and the last in front of Lewes, at the other end. It is but fair, however, to the town of Lewes to refer to the prior capture of four of Roebuck's crew near Cape Henlopen, and especially to the gallant prior fight of a Lewes schooner and Lewes people with a tender of the Roebuck which, before sailing for northern Delaware, vainly attempted to prevent the landing of powder sent to the American forces ; so that, strictly speaking, the naval part of the Revolutionary struggle may be said to have opened and closed in sight of the town of Lewes.

In the course of our war for Independence the exposure and accessibility of Lewes subjected its people and neighboring farmers to many abuses and depredations, one of the most remarkable of which involved a member of the eminent Quaker family of Fisher, whose ancestors came to America with William Penn and whose branches have afforded worthy and influential actors in various high positions. During the severe winter of 1779-80, when the British war vessel Roebuck lay near Cape Henlopen, a press-gang from her crew, impelled by the urgent need of food supplies, seized upon Thomas Fisher, then a lad of 17, on his father's farm near Lewes, and, carrying him and a negro slave on board the vessel, sent peremptory notice to the parents of the boy that the only possible condition upon which the captives would be surrendered was their ransom by the speedy delivery of 100 bullocks on board the Roebuck.

The condition was promptly accepted and the required cattle, chiefly afforded by the home herd, with a few neighboring contributions, were driven several miles on the ice to the war vessel and the captives liberated pursuant to the terms demanded.

It is unnecessary here to speak of Lewes' part in the War of 1812. It has not been long since we were favored with the reading of a valuable paper by William M. Marine, Esq., on the "Bombardment of Lewes," which not only covered the subject in ample detail, but told the story with such fervor of rhetorical delivery as summoned before a delighted audience ensanguined visions of a memorable conflict wherein, according to the rhyming participant quoted

The commander and all his men
Shot a dog and killed a hen.

It will suffice to repeat here the well-known fact that such substantial service was rendered by the defenders of Lewes in protecting the whole coast of lower Delaware from British depredations for army supplies as earned grateful thanks to the commander, Colonel Samuel B. Davis, a native of Lewes, and his soldiers, who were largely its citizens.

Local writers calmly assume as a fact what historical authorities deem at least problematical with respect to an interesting geographical point connected with Delaware's early settlement. It has long been a cherished and fixed belief among the people of Lewes that the suburbs of their town or the immediate vicinity embrace the olden "Paradise Point," where Peter Minuit and the first Swedish colonists landed in 1638, while enroute to their final destination on the Christiana. It is claimed that such resting place was

really the high ridge of land on the then named Hoornkill, now the lower part of what is known as the Pilot Town part of Lewes; and they believe that a few of the Swedish immigrants who then and there landed did not resume the voyage with Minuit, but remained in that locality where they were afterwards joined by Dutch traders through whose influence the Holland authorities caused a fort to be built on or near what was the landing spot both of the first Dutch settlers of the De Vries expedition and of the resting place of the Swedes, which they called "Paradise Point."

This is all pure conjecture, wholly unsupported by even the probabilities of the situation. While the exact identity of Paradise Point has never been certainly determined it is generally conceded to have been north of the Mispillion, between that creek and Murderkill, where the shore somewhat projects into the bay. This would place it in Kent county at least fifteen miles north of the spot claimed in lower Pilot Town. All authorities speak of the Swedish stopping place as a "point," none of them as a cove or bay, or allude to a stream ascended to a high ridge on its banks upon which to land, by some one or more of which particulars the locality could have hardly failed to be characterized had the Swedes landed near the mouth of the Hoornkill or sailed up the stream for a landing place as claimed, however much the locality may have since changed; nor is there a hint from any source of any Swedes having stopped any where and discontinued their journey with Minuit to his destination on the Christiana.

But a locality so rich in historic interest as Lewes can well afford to dispense with additional distinction of this kind. Standing on or near the site of the original De Vries

settlement, Lewes may be deemed the most ancient town in Delaware. Its origin and brief early existence assured the first requisite of a physical basis upon which to erect a political community. Except for that early Dutch settlement where now stands the town of Lewes Delaware would have been a part of Maryland. As a theatre of events affecting the latter welfare of the State, Lewes must ever stand forth in proud historic perspective. As involved in matters going alike to the making and defending of Delaware, Lewes is scarcely second, historically, to New Castle, its early seat of government, or Wilmington, the starting point of its first permanent settlement, while it has certainly been the greatest sufferer in its service and especially in its defence of our little commonwealth. Lewes is probably the only considerable town in the State whose area was included in the territory affected by the operations of the old Dutch patroon system of landed aristocracy. It was thus subjected to a first crushing blow from the savages, and it has borne the brunt of constant border piracy and naval attacks, regular and irregular, during two wars, while its early pilotage and protection to extensive maritime interests are not unworthy of mention.

With the Indians Lewes and its immediate vicinity were ever a favorite resort; and there have been incontestible evidences that an aboriginal village once occupied the present town site. A railroad excavation through a small hill has uncovered a burial place and many skeletons were exposed. The succeeding white settlers seem to have endorsed the red men's choice alike as to the living and dead. The original court records as early as 1687 refer to an Ancient Burial Place, where the citizens of Horekill made interments, and

near the supposed scene of the first Dutch massacre by the Indians one acre of ground was set apart for such use. This and other burial grounds contain the remains of persons interred prior to the year 1750, who lived in the preceding century. Among the many graves are notably those of four of Delaware's Governors, namely, Daniel Rodney, Caleb Rodney, Samuel Paynter and Dr. Joseph Maull.

Thus much for what may perhaps be fairly deemed a historical presentation of Lewes. As much more could be written of greater general interest touching personal incidents and matters of traditional and legendary nature, while in matters combining both the authentic and half-licensed fictions reminiscent of early frontier life and daring tales of the sea, the ancient town affords abundant material. Some legitimate matter of historical bearing has doubtless been overlooked; nor has any attempts been made to describe the industrial or other modern interests of Lewes; while refraining from this and endeavoring to give emphasis to its historic character the writer hopes that the just and general characteristics of a place so deeply concerned with nature and history have not been neglected. And this is deemed a not unsuitable place to acknowledge the large extent to which material for this paper has been derived from Scharf's excellent history of Delaware and the aid received from the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society and the collections of the late Dr. Mustard of Lewes.

It is a matter of tradition that the British government built a good light house at Cape Henlopen as early as 1725, with a tower octagonal in shape, whose walls were seven feet thick and seven stories high, built with stones brought from England. For its benefit 200 acres were

ordered to be surveyed by Governor John Penn in November, 1763, and the same month provision was made for raising a fund by subscription and by means of a lottery to maintain a light and buoys at the mouth of Delaware Bay. The interior of the light-house was finished in wood which the British burned during the Revolutionary War and a piece of the charred remains resulting is among the relics preserved by the late Dr. Mustard of Lewes.

An incident which may be deemed at once legendary and historic in character is connected with a once stately mansion which is still standing in Lewes. The edifice has always been associated with the well known Fisher family and is called the Fisher House.

It was once the residence of Colonel Samuel B. Davis, commander of the defending forces at the bombardment of Lewes in 1813. With the colonel, during his residence in this house, there lived a young lady as his ward, for whom he cherished great affection as one of his own children, while she had never suspected that she was not his daughter until she was playfully bantered by some friends upon a certain occasion in a way implying serious doubt of her real relationship with one she thought her father. Startled with suspicion and awed with harassing doubts she impatiently awaited a reliable test of the truth, and when the colonel left the house to attend church on the ensuing Sunday she quickly searched through his well stored papers among which found unquestionable evidence that she was not the daughter but the ward of her supposed father and the heiress of large estates in New Orleans. Her close and trusted connection with Colonel Davis is said to have remained undisturbed by her discovery and, marry-

ing in due time she became known to the whole country as Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines, probably the greatest litigant of her age. She was something of a poet when young, and a spot is pointed out in the fence surrounding the Fisher house where swung the familiar garden gate which inspired her pretty lines "Swinging on the Old Red Gate."

Another matter of mingled romance and reality seems entitled to a place here from its connection with a critical epoch in our national history in the War of the Revolution. The continental Congress had been deliberating upon the momentous question of total separation from the mother country, and the resolution for final action was to be voted upon with little further delay. Of the three Delaware delegates Thomas McKean and Cæsar Rodney earnestly favored the declaration for independence while George Read opposed it as at least premature. Pending the decision, Rodney went to Dover with the double object of arousing public sentiment for independence and of aiding to enlist troops for the army to support it, in both of which he was threatened with defeat by a third matter of more engrossing urgency; for at Dover Rodney met an enchantress in the person of Sarah Rowland from Lewes, a sprightly young Quaker widow, witty and fascinating, who was ardently devoted to the Royal side of the conflict. Cæsar Rodney, angular in person and honest in purpose had a facial affliction of a cancerous nature which added a scarred and drawn expression to naturally plain features, but like most men of iron nerve and stalwart mould, his rough exterior was coupled with a warm heart and special susceptibility to female charms. With the quickness of woman's intuition the lady realized the situation and saw her opportunity. To much beauty of

person she added winsome manners and rare powers of persuasion, and, under her blandishments Cæsar's first prepossession fast ripened to captivity of the heart. Beguiled by her wishes he innocently confided to his charmer the situation of affairs in Congress and revealed the closeness of the expected vote favoring and opposing the Declaration of Independence. Meanwhile Rodney's colleague, McKean, was sending daily letters urging his speedy return; for in Rodney's absence the two other delegates would be tied and Delaware's voice silenced in the patriotic crises. Through the contrivance of the fair deceiver these letters had been intercepted; and Cæsar, suspecting no ill of one he loved, dreamed on in sweet beguilement.

Thus matters continued until near the evening of the third of July when suddenly a patriotic maid servant of the false woman rushed into Rodney's presence and drawing forth a package of the intercepted letters exclaimed "see how she's fooled you!" Cæsar Rodney hastily perusing the letters raised his hand to his forehead and uttering a cry of disgust and despair, hurried away and mounting his horse, dashed off upon that well known night journey to Philadelphia, which, if less renowned than Paul Revere's ride, ranks with the most momentous flights in lofty purpose and historic importance. By terrific speed and repeated relays of horses the rider reached Philadelphia in time to cast his vote for that glorious cause which has given license to the hideous fourth of July uproar with which we have ever since been annually afflicted. "Cæsar's Ride" was so exhaustive a night's trip that he looked pale and sick upon his appearance in Congress when John Adams said of him "Cæsar Rodney is the oddest looking man in the world; he is tall, thin,

slender and pale; his face is not bigger than a large apple, yet there is sense and fire, spirit, wit and humor in his countenance." The beautiful Tory lady by whom he was so nearly betrayed afterward married a captain in the British navy, but Cæsar Rodney lived and died a bachelor; their story has been a fruitful theme for gay recital and graceful verse in the literature of our Revolutionary struggle.

Lewes has long been the home and headquarters of pilots. Their calling as a profession was recognized as early at least as 1765, when Friend Griffith an immigrating Quaker in that year wrote "on the ninth day of sixth month we made Cape Henlopen and a pilot came on board and he proved to be a native Indian." A large number of these men live in Lewes and own their homes and their craft and they form a thrifty and reliable class of good citizens. Their avocation and influence, the numerous houses with tightly shingled walls for protection from sea winds, the odor and feel of sea air, the talk of the people, and the visible signs on all hands of seafaring pursuits combine to give a character of its own to Lewes and distinguish it from the average of Delaware towns. Its citizens tell of a long line of distressing shipwrecks among the most notable of which was that of the British sloop of war *De Braak*, Capt. Drew, carrying letters of mark and reprisal from the English government against Bonaparte and his allies, and laden with the fruits of many victories, when, on the tenth of June, 1798, while near the mouth of the bay, and steered by a Lewes pilot, the vessel in a sudden gust went down with all on board; including fifteen prisoners and a fabulous store of gold, trophies and treasure.

Another memorable calamity was the wreck of the large

French vessel upon which Jerome Bonaparte embarked for France upon his recall from America by his brother Napoleon. While being blockaded by the British, his ship was utterly wrecked on the point of the cape during a fearful storm. Fortunately Jerome was among those saved alike from the storm and the enemy, and, reaching Lewes he became a guest in what was then the Peter Maull House. Many similar disasters could be named. Indeed all about the neighboring coasts of bay and ocean is an unbroken line of wrecks representing every description of craft. Lewes is toned with the very sentiment and atmosphere of the sea. Tidings of hardship and heroic sacrifice have brought storied interest and world-wide sympathies to the firesides of her humble homes. But if a weird pathos is exhaled from her troubled past a hopeful future will come of the already quickening life of an industrial and more varied development, while brightening her seafront in ever inspiring presence, are the proud and protected shipping and noble life-saving appliance of an enlightened and generous nation.

On the very site of this ancient town first took root the corporate germ, the vital seed of a new political community. Here its soil was first cultivated and first stained with the whites man's blood; here the assaults of angry nature and hostile man have most left their scars; and, considering the unique origin of the town as the child of an alien oligarchy, in view of its varied characteristics, with all the lights and shades of its eventful career, it may well be doubted if any place in the State or elsewhere can furnish a more significant and picturesque history than Delaware's ancient town of Lewes.

PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.

XXXIX.

PENNOCK PUSEY.

A MEMOIR OF PENNOCK PUSEY, LATE HISTORIOGRAPHER
OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE, BY HON.
CHARLES B. LORE, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

ALSO "RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CORNER OF MARKET AND
TENTH STREETS, IN THE CITY OF WILMINGTON," A
PAPER PREPARED BY PENNOCK PUSEY AT THE
REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY, AND READ
BEFORE IT JUNE 19th, 1899.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE,
WILMINGTON.
1903.

THE JOHN M. ROGERS PRESS, WILMINGTON, DEL.

In Memoriam.

At the regular meeting of the Society held on Monday evening, February 16th, 1903, the announcement was made of the death of Pennock Pusey, which had occurred at his residence in this city on the morning of that day. Formal resolutions were adopted and the society resolved to attend the funeral services in a body.

Mr. Pusey had been actively interested in the Society since its organization. He had always cherished a warm attachment for the City of Wilmington, where his boyhood and youth were spent. After an absence in the West for a period of thirty years, where by dint of good judgment and business integrity he succeeded in accumulating a modest fortune, he retired from active business pursuits and returned to the scenes of youthful days. To him it was like coming home. No man ever had a deeper love for nature. For him the notes of the soaring bird were the sweetest music, and the ripple of the waters of his beloved Brandywine was truly "Symphony and Song," to him. In close communion with nature, and enthusiastically devoted to local history he spent his latter days in recalling the incidents, and preserving the history and traditions of the past. He was undoubtedly the best versed man in this locality on all matters touching the early settlements in this region, and no one took a greater interest in the work of the Society.

Acting for six years as the Historiographer of the society, his yearly reports, as such, proved always the most interesting feature of the annual meetings, and were an embodiment of the painstaking research that invariably marked his literary work. No one will be able to fill exactly the niche he occupied. There has been but one Pennock Pusey in this community. To some of us who came in close touch with his life the kindly greeting and the genial presence will be long remembered as the days go on.

*"His mute dust
I honor, and his living worth."*

HENRY C. CONRAD.

MEMOIR OF PENNOCK PUSEY.

BY

HON. CHARLES B. LORE,

PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Upon a beautiful knoll in London Grove Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, surrounded by stately, old trees, stands a long two story stone house, known as the old Pusey homestead. The middle part of the house was built in 1728. This, with additions from time to time, constitutes the present dwelling. It is now the residence of William Pusey, and has been in the Pusey family continuously from the time it was built.

The first owner and builder was Joshua Pusey (1714-1760), the great grandfather of Pennock Pusey, subject of this sketch. Here he lived and died. Pusey's grist mill on the premises, was celebrated for its products. Here from all the country round came farmers with their grain, to be turned into or exchanged for flour and meal; because the toll taken was known as "Quaker Toll," always just.

Joshua Pusey had the Quaker thrift, and gathered unto himself much substance yet maintained a high character for strict integrity. He married Mary Lewis, and was the father of eleven children.

His son Joshua the second (1738-1804), was the grandfather of Pennock. In reputation and influence the son excelled the father. He took unto himself three wives; Mary Miller, 1761; Lydia Thomas, 1778, and Hannah Lea, 1782; by these he was the father of seventeen children. He was wont to say, "It was well to have the mill to feed the younglings."

Joshua the second was a leading man among that sturdy band of Quakers who have made Chester County famous for steady ways, purity of life and unvarying devotion to truth, charity and liberty of conscience.

Jonas, the fourteenth child of Joshua, the second (1791-1851), was the father of Pennock. He lived at the old homestead until the year 1826, when he moved to Wilmington, then distinctively known as a Quaker town. For several years he took an active part in the educational work of the city, and was a teacher in the old academy, situated on Market Street between Eighth and Ninth, near where the Grand Opera House now stands. In the organization of the Wilmington Savings Fund he was deeply interested, and was chosen secretary of that institution in 1840. Here he remained until his death in 1851, trusted and respected by all who knew him. He did much to inspire public confidence in and to build up this institution.

He was the father of nine children, Pennock being the seventh. Only two of these children, Jonas Pusey, and Hannah, the widow of Joshua T. Heald, are now living. One of his children, Joshua L. Pusey, was the father of Charles W. and William W. Pusey, now president and Vice-President of the Pusey & Jones Company. He gave name, scope and character largely to that establishment which now,

and for half a century past, has been one of the largest manufacturing, to which Wilmington owes much of her growth and reputation.

The Pusey family has been distinguished for many generations in Pennsylvania. Caleb Pusey, the first of the name in America, and his two nephews were among the earliest settlers under Penn. Caleb was one of Penn's personal friends, and lifelong supporters. His influence was large in the Colonial Councils and especially with the Indians, with whom he was a great favorite. There is still standing at Upland, about two miles from Chester, what is known as the Pusey House, which was built in 1683, and is supposed to be the oldest house now standing in Pennsylvania.

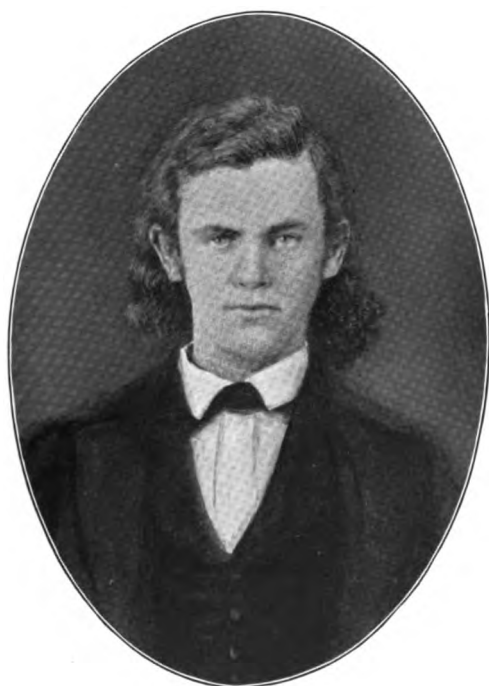
The family is of English origin, and runs back to the eleventh century. The tradition is, that about the year 1016, during the bloody contests for English crown, between the Danes under Canute, and the Saxons led by Edmun Ironsides, the hostile forces, having manœvered for position, lay encamped a few miles apart—the Saxons on White Horse Hill, the Danes at Chesby Castle, a hamlet of Carney—when William Pusey, an officer under Canute, entered the Saxon Camp in disguise, and discovered a plot there formed for the midnight surprise and massacre of the Danes. As a reward for his perilous service, which saved the Danish army from destruction, King Canute presented the daring officer with the manor lying contiguous to the camping ground, giving him as the emblem of his title the horn of an ox. This horn is described as a dark brown or tortoise shell color, two feet and a half inch long, and one foot in circumference at the large end, two and a quarter inches at the small end. There were silver rings at each

end, with a broad silver band in the middle; attached to the middle band were two silver legs with feet resembling those of the hound, by which the horn is supported upon a stand. This horn is preserved as a Pusey relic.

The old manor and village of Pusey, in the hundred of Ganfield, and county of Berkshire, indicate the antiquity and early prominence of the family. The history of the family in England is very interesting, and is well told by Pennock Pusey in a little booklet entitled, "The Pusey Family, a Brief Historical Sketch of Its Origin in England and America," published by Wood & Bancroft, Wilmington, Delaware, 1883, to which we refer the curious reader.

Pennock Pusey was born September 6, 1825 on the home farm at London Grove, in an outbuilding, then in temporary use, while the dwelling house was being repaired. This outbuilding was afterwards converted into a pig pen, and he would sometimes jocularly say that he was born in a pig pen. He was but an infant when his father removed to this city in 1826. Here his boyhood and early youth were spent. As a boy he was gentle, studious, and especially considerate of others. The schools of Wilmington, supplemented with a two years' course at Westtown, Pennsylvania, gave him a good English education. Possessed of a literary taste, he devoured the books within his reach. With George W. Bush, Henry S. McComb, Hanson Harman, Edward Betts and others, he organized, and was an active member of the "Ciceronian Debating Club," which met on Orange street between Sixth and Seventh.

His first distinctive employment, was as assistant farmer for his brother-in-law, William Webb, on the Woodlawn farm, just southwest of this city. In 1849 he and his



PENNOCK PUSEY,
1846.

brother-in-law, Isaac S. Flint, bought a farm on the south side of the Susquehanna river in Maryland, opposite Port Deposit, where he remained until 1854. As an instance of the Quaker thrift they nearly paid for the farm, by cutting and selling hoop poles found on the land, which were then in great demand. About this time the great northwest was the land of promise to the young men of the day. Pennock caught the moving fever, and in 1854 started West, uncertain as to location. On his way out he stopped with his brother Jonas, then living in Ohio. After looking the field over, he located at St. Paul, Minnesota. For thirty-one years from 1854 to 1885, he lived in St. Paul, engaged in the real estate business, and acquired a solid reputation for honesty, capacity and good judgment. In a number of trusted positions, he displayed great tact and sound judgment. As private secretary to Governor John S. Pillsbury, and also as Secretary of State, he won for himself a high position, and the confidence and esteem of the people.

December 5, 1867, he married Miss Hattie Fowler, at the home of her step-father, a Presbyterian minister, in Homer, Michigan. She was an attractive woman, of marked intellectuality, but frail of body, and died March 9, 1874, leaving no living children. Her memory abode, however, with her husband, who for the remainder of his life lived true to the memory of his loved and lost.

Pennock Pusey loved the city of his boyhood. In the West he had accumulated a competency. His wife and child were both dead, and his thoughts turned again to his native hills. Putting his business and property in a manageable shape, he returned to this city in 1885, and lived here in well-earned retirement, engaged mostly in literary pur-

suits, but taking a deep interest in all educational, historic and benevolent movements.

His most pretentious work "Ebba Borjeson, a True Love Story of the Olden Time," was published under the pseudonyme of "Hampden Vaughn," in 1894, by the Costa print, Wilmington, Delaware.

It is a story of about six hundred pages of the early Swedish and Dutch settlements on the Delaware, and centres about the home of its heroine, Ebba Borjeson, at the old Swedish settlement on the Christiana. It is a touching love story, with a symmetrical plot and well sustained interest. In it are woven the life threads of the clean, hardy and sturdy early settlers of the upper Peninsula of Delaware. The Swedes, Dutch, English and Indians of the period are treated with an impartial but sympathetic hand. I doubt whether more truthful delineation of the social, moral and educational condition of the early settlers is any where to be had. He claims that the story is based upon historic facts and characters, and it bears that mark.

Opening in Sweden, with a recital of the historic battle of Lutzen, the story follows its principal character across the Atlantic to the banks of the Christiana, and through peace and war, health and sickness, and joy and sorrow, to the triumph of virtue and truth.

Ebba Borjeson, the heroine, is a clean, pure, quick witted, somewhat wilful, but tender-hearted and true Swedish maiden of great beauty; about whose life the story is woven and she is the central figure. It would seem that in her friend Pusey unconsciously has pictured his ideal woman. If so, the ideal woman does him credit. She was quick of foot, strong of limb, lithe and graceful figure, and loved to

climb the hills, and abide in the sloping woods of the Brandywine; where many of the stirring incidents of the story are located.

Naturally she had many lovers; among them Rupert Fairfax, the hot blooded Virginia planter, and Okowela, the Indian chief; but her heart clung to Halvor Mondal her old time Swedish lover, whose vicissitudes and sufferings until his happy marriage with Ebba formed the tragic element of the story. The character of Okowela, the noble Indian chief, is drawn with the skill and touch of a Cooper; while Rupert Fairfax, the hot blooded Virginian is a fine portraiture. Uncle Gabe, the kind hearted and ubiquitous Dutchman, would do no discredit to Irving. Altogether the story is admirably told. It deals with Shellpot, Brandywine, the Christiana and the Delaware, in their primal conditions. No where are there more beautiful pen pictures of the scenery of the Brandywine than are found in this book. The author was so familiar with its rocks, hills, falls, caves and valleys that he has reproduced them in his book so that we may recognize the several scenes from his description.

The character of Caleb Pusey, the first of the name in America, is drawn with tender, loving sympathy, and presents a typical Quaker of that day. It shows the esteem in which he was held, in that he was not only the miller, but at different times, sheriff, judge, legislator, preacher, councilor and essayist of the province. He aided in the peaceful removal of the Okahocking Indians, and served as one of the commissioners to run the Northern boundaries of Delaware.

His memoirs of Dr. Horace Burr, the Rev. Charles E. Murray and of Henry R. Bringhurst, published in 1900,

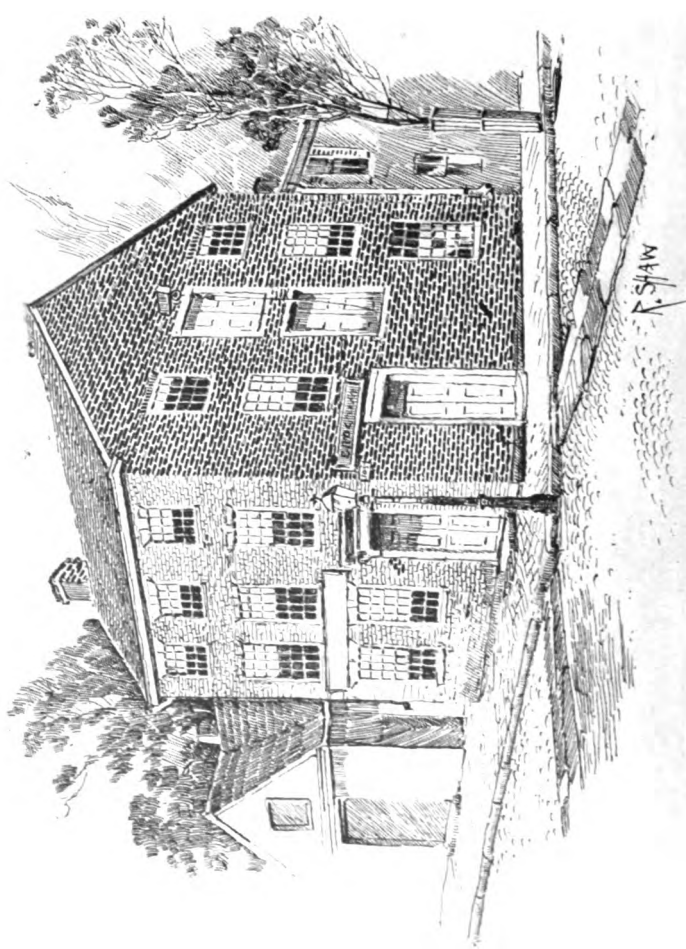
was a sympathetic and true sketch of the lives of each one of them.

To the Historical Society of Delaware, Mr. Pusey gave much thought and care. As historiographer of the Society, he prepared a number of valuable papers, and his yearly review of the society was always a comprehensive résumé of the year's work. The Society Year Book of 1902, prepared by him and printed and illustrated by John M. Rogers, is a gem of its kind. His article on the town of Lewes read before the society, a few months since, is an historic treasure. His death is an irreparable loss to the society.

To his untiring care, aided by Bishop Coleman and George A. Elliott, we are indebted for the monument, which now marks the site of the old Crane Hook Church which was unveiled October 17th, 1896. Mr. Pusey's address on that occasion was a scholarly history of the church and of its people.

For years he had been working to secure a like marking of the rocks on the Christiana, where the Swedes first landed. This was one of his cherished hopes. Just before his death it was announced that the Colonial Dames of Delaware, had obtained the privilege, and would erect and dedicate a monument thereon. He was delighted and yet chagrined that in the short time they had accomplished what he for so long a time had been unable to do. Upon their invitation he was to have delivered the address of dedication. No one better fitted for the work could have been found. His book, *Ebba Borjeson*, showed his entire familiarity with the subject.

Pennock Pusey loved our beautiful Brandywine. Many a day I have seen him walking along its banks, drinking in



THE FIRST BUILDING ERECTED AT S. W. CORNER MARKET AND TENTH STREETS,
WILMINGTON, DEL.
(SITE NOW OCCUPIED BY THE FORD BUILDING.)



its beauty, or with book in hand, sitting in some sheltered nook, with a broad stretch of the scenery before him, gazing dreamily at this wonderland.

His favorite haunts were the hills near the water tower, Rattlesnake Run, the old Barley Mill Dam, the pavilion or some leaf covered and shady rock on the abrupt hillsides. I have heard him say that he never tired of its scenery, that it was to him a constant feast, an old familiar friend.

Unobtrusive, sensitive, quiet, almost shrinking in his nature, he combined the gentleness of a woman, with the firmness of a keen, strong nature. He was a genial companion. With a well stored mind, his conversation was always interesting and instructive. There was a warmth in his friendship and a staying quality in his attachments that made his friendship worth having. Contact with the world had not hardened him; on the other hand it had made him tender and sympathetic.

Pennock Pusey has left a record of a good man, an honest man, and one whose life was spent in right lines in doing his duty to God and man.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CORNER OF MARKET AND TENTH STREETS IN THE CITY OF WILMINGTON,

—BY—

PENNOCK PUSEY.

Perhaps the most marked characteristic of advancing age is its proneness to dwell upon the past. The fondness for recalling early incidents, and repeating old stories is proverbial alike with persons who have led adventurous lives, and those of the commonest experiences.

Moreover we need hardly approximate the Psalmists, "Three score years and ten" before feeling the force of that law of nature, that the further the inexorable years thrust us into the future, the further our thoughts reach back into the past.

It is as if one sought a solacing appeal from the bold realism and disenchanting verdict of cold, hard experience, to the bright promises of youthful hope, and the remembered joy with which we entered upon life's career.

It is therefore scarcely a cause of wonder that with advancing years one is apt to mistake the fondness of ones memory of his individual early associations for a matter of general public interest.

And you will accordingly understand, I trust, my reluctance to comply with the request for written reminiscences of the building lately demolished on the opposite corner, and promptly pardon what I may say that may be deemed beneath the dignity of history, or unworthy of remembrance.

For while that old building is closely linked with the very earliest recollections of my childhood, it can scarcely claim to be invested with much interest of a general or historic nature. But while this is true of the building itself its immediate environments embrace an area or locality long and pleasantly connected with the settlement and growth of Wilmington. Indeed the intersection of Tenth and Market Streets may be fairly deemed one of the historic corners of our city. In former times it marked the junction of what was known as Kennett Road and Brandywine walk as Market Street north of this corner was then called.

The southerly angle was the original site chosen by one of our earliest religious denominations in the year 1737, and

where the "First Presbyterian Church" erected its first edifice in 1740. ("The venerable structure" in which we are assembled.)

Diagonally opposite on the north point stood the famous cottage and shady yard known as "The Willows" where once resided the great heiress and beauty "Miss Vining," a witty, accomplished and attractive lady, and who in colonial days had devoted admirers among the officers of the three armies, who corresponded with "Lafayette," and was affianced to General Wayne, and whose reputation as a lovely and entertaining lady extended so far that she was invited to visit the French Queen at the Tuilleries.

Another of the four corners marked the boundary of the area occupied by the reservoir of the improved Water System, an elevated and sightly area embracing the whole block now occupied by the Court House property; this, while commanding an outlook to the broad Delaware and noble easterly landscape was the highest point within the limits of our then restricted town, facilitating the distribution of Brandywine water throughout its extent.

At the fourth of the four corners stood the lately demolished brick building which is the specific subject for our present consideration. While most of the remainder of the square was occupied by the large yard and buildings, stables and sheds of the once famous "Clayton's Tavern" its Ninth Street boundary a part of the site of the present Equitable Building, having been occupied by an irregular line of rather dilapidated buildings, the easterly end of which was known as "Rankins Corner," where the Rev. Corry Chambers school was kept and where began the military instruction which was later known as Hyatt's Academy, and which I

believe developed into the now existing great military establishment at Chester, Pa.

Diagonally through this square once ran the continuation of what is now Delaware Avenue, which in its southerly course instead of bending into Tenth Street at Tatnall Street, as at present, continued on in the same way cutting through the front of the lot on which "Eden Hall" now stands, and running diagonally across the squares eastward of Orange Street, and directly in front of the old stone dwelling now standing out of line and back from Orange and Tenth Streets, at the rear of George F. Robinson's saloon, which accounts for the odd position of that ancient structure whose quaint appearance and irregular attitude have long been a subject of common remark.

Passing through this square as stated, this old thoroughfare crossed Market Street just above the Equitable Building and constituted one of the boundaries of the church lot whereon was first erected the hip roofed building in which this society holds its monthly meetings.

The area of this lot is just one acre and in the old deed the description of its boundaries began at a stake standing in the east side of Market Street in Willington, in Christiana road (which was first called Christiana road, afterward Kennett Pike) and runs thence $48\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ east to another stake in said road on west side. The lower tower of the subsequent church standing exactly in the centre of the abandoned road.

The home known as "The Willows" has been mentioned as occupying the diagonally opposite corner (where lived the historic and winsome beauty Miss Vining) stood back from both Tenth and Market Streets, the frontage of the lot over-



"THE WILLOWS,"
N. W. CORNER MARKET AND TENTH STREETS,
WILMINGTON, DEL.



looking a grass yard upon which the present four story brick building was erected something under twenty-four years ago. "The original cottage is still standing though nearly hidden from view, being now the rear and residence part of the Drug Establishment on the northwest corner.

After the death of Miss Vining, the original house was divided into two dwellings, in one of which lived the parents of the late Charles Baird, and in the other my father's family.

We began living there in the spring of 1827. The place and its surroundings are inseparably linked with the earliest memories and most vivid experiences of my childhood: and moreover as our half of the original historic residence fronted on Tenth Street, the corner building directly opposite, lately demolished, was the very nearest, one of the earliest, and surely the most constantly gazed upon of all the visible outside objects embraced within at least half a life time's scope of outward observation.

Nor is the force of this truth lessened by the fact that it was an enforced, rather than voluntary observation. Was not the impression indeed, all the deeper and more lasting on that account.

How indelible indeed are the impressions planted in the plastic consciousness of youth. How fondly the coupled sorrows and joys, the irksome tasks, and limitless exuberance of childhood linger in the memory.

At once dear and dreary was its unrestricted summer of life, even as its big calculations and relative gauge of life's make up, scorn or brook, little guidance.

Let any one of mature years doubting the sense of youths dominant intensity, divide his own life into three periods

and he will find that most of his masterful experiences and fadeless memories belong to the first third of his conscious career.

In view therefore of the fondly crowded memories of the early ten years I lived so near in touch and daily sight of this old building with its nameless associations, I find it difficult to realize that it is actually concerned so little with matters of general interest.

I have not been able to learn by whom or what date it was erected, it was early known as "Gilpin's Corner" and attained a reputation for the excellence of the various liquors sold there, country people coming to town upon errands being usually charged by their neighbors to be sure to bring specified bottles of the choice Gilpin Corner whiskey, brandy or companion intoxicants.

I remember at the time of my first recollection the original building occupied but a small part of the site of the long structure just taken down: fronting on Market Street, it extended along Tenth Street perhaps not over one-third of the distance to Shipley Street leaving vacant the rearwards two-thirds of the lot upon which lumps of plaster of paris were piled, and loads of hay concentrated for sale; and where farmers attending market often fed their teams, when the adjoining tavern was overcrowded.

The extreme front was then familiarly known as "Chandler's Corner" so called from the name of a then recent occupant, who was a brother of the late Gregg Chandler. And besides the later designation as Gilpin's Corner as before stated, the building had earlier at various times been associated with the names of Aiken, McClung, Cleaden and other tenants, none of whom as I remember were long

successful there, indeed it formerly bore an unenviable reputation as an unlucky corner undergoing frequent changes of tenants, and where so far, at least, as concerned the first floor of the immediate corner each merchant or store keeper starting there, was thought to be doomed in advance to inevitable failure.

These are neither important or endearing particulars, and however they may glow with the fond associations of childhood they must be deemed lacking in significance or pointed circumstances worthy of special remembrance.

Hence as before stated public interest attaches less to the building in itself than as the center of an interesting neighborhood: Yet the building itself or the small original portion of it which stood on the extreme corner front was associated with one event investing it with wide general interest and even historic significance, for it was there that the very first cars run on what is now the P., W. & B. Railroad and among the earliest used in the state were constructed.

When the Harlan & Hollingsworth Company, originally the firm of Betts, Pusey & Harlan was first established in 1836, it was for the special purpose of building passenger cars for the P., W. & B. Railroad then in process of construction.

With this in view members of the firm in order to learn of the latest methods visited New England, where they found primitive shops and crude processes for the purpose, which they thought could readily be improved upon. With this conviction upon their return they began the erection of the then large three story building at the corner of Front and Tatnall Streets, but before it could be finished the approaching railroad gave promise of such early completion,

that to avoid delay in meeting speedy demands they temporarily used this old corner building, in the second story of which the small cars then used were constructed. To remove them when completed it was necessary to cut the joists for a sufficient aperture to lower them below; when they were moved to the railroad track upon wooden rollers. Their work actually began in the old corner building with the date 1836.

To this improvised workshop my elder brother the late Joshua L. Pusey, was a daily visitor from our old home across the street.

This brother, it may be proper to say, evinced much native ingenuity, and from his earliest childhood had a strong bent toward mechanism of all kinds.

His constant mingling with workman, and the sight of their work so near at hand so quickened his youthful passion that he became one of the earliest apprentices employed by the works of Betts, Pusey & Harlan. To them he went from the historic cottage before mentioned, so that beside the first work done in the old building the boy who went from the old corner as an apprentice in one great establishment and became President of another, links an old place of poor business repute with two of the great industrial institutions which have done so much toward the making of modern Wilmington.

As connected with these events it may be worth while to say that some years ago, when alterations were being made involving the enlargement of a window or door in the Tenth Street side of the old building, there was taken from the wall a brick in which was deeply cut the neatly formed letters, J. L. P. for Joshua L. Pusey, and I trust it will not

be deemed amiss to add something of a coincidence, that upon the death of the carver of those letters when several hundred employees of the Pusey & Jones Company, attended his funeral service, they happened to rally at the old corner from which their President had gone as an apprentice, and forming in line marched up Delaware Avenue to join in the solemn rites paid to their beloved employer and friend.

So much for the corner building and its nearest concerns; and while a wider environment teems with old associations, I have special and peculiar cause for retaining a vivid memory of the central object of inquiry. For there I had my first introduction to National politics.

At the exact corner of the structure and within a few feet of the walls (I can never forget the precise spot) I received my first political tuition, and it proved more durable than even the deepest of proverbial first impressions and it happened on this wise:

It was a cool Autumnal evening during the campaign preceding the election of General Jackson whose whig opponent was Henry Clay.

I was playing with some boyish companions on the sidewalk, immediately about the old corner when suddenly I felt my arm violently grasped from behind, while in front a big fist was held close to my nose, with a demand to know "Whether I was for Jackson or Clay." "Quit that," I cried struggling in the firm grip, "let me go." but the grasp was tightened. "What do you mean," I cried. You hurt my arm, "let go o' me." "Say then," was the repeated demand "Are you *Jackson* or *Clay*?" I had not the remotest idea what my assailant meant: for although I had reached the mature age of "seven years," the youngsters of those days

were less precocious or less endowed with political wisdom than the glib-tongued juveniles who know it all now-a-days, and in my deplorable ignorance I could only repeat my demand to be released, which elicited a sterner refusal with dark and dire hints of my impending fate.

The threatening proximity of the big fist and the size and strength of the owner, who was several years my senior, discouraged the hope of physical redress: but I was not lacking in the instinctive pluck of healthy boyhood and so suddenly kicking the shins of my antagonist, I made a desperate struggle for liberty. But that precious boon was never cheaply gained; with both arms now grasped, I was held in more pinching captivity and with my breast pressed against the front wall of the old building, I was triumphantly required to choose between "Jackson and Clay." Again I fought for liberty and again I was vanquished, "Say which you're for," said my assailant. "If you'll make your choice, Jackson or Clay, I'll let you go." Light began to dawn and liberty seemed in sight, but how to choose was the momentous question.

In sheer ignorance of the whole matter and with no friendly hint or guidance, I groped in utter darkness, which seemed the denser from the nervous confusion wrought by the sudden transfer from an athletic to a mental conflict.

Compelled to think quickly and coming over the candidates names, Jackson had the pleasanter sound, while Clay seemed to savor of the earth—I cast the die—and called out "Jackson." Thump! came the big fist—Thump! thump! whack! whack! the blows rained thick and fast upon me. "Jackson are you, I'll teach you better!" The blows were repeated, I stood my ground as best I could, but felt myself fast giving way, the victim of betrayal and despair.

"Say you're for Clay, then," cried my assailant. "O, is that all you want 'Clay,' then Clay of course." Such was my first lesson in politics, and, while I guessed purely at random, and my compulsory change of candidate was somewhat violent, it was quite as rational as more modern methods of political conversion and certainly inspired by less sordid motives. Another indelible memory clings pleasantly to a scene a few yards further away from the old building—in a direct line indeed between that of the political incident just narrated and the place of our present assemblage.

One warm summer day a sudden and copious shower had filled the gutters with running water, and exposed many small worms in the middle of Market Street: which tempted a flock of pigeons to alight there to devour the fresh dainties thus offered.

No healthy boy of susceptible certain age can easily resist the temptation to dabble his naked feet in a stream of warm rain water fresh from the skies; and few of either sex can explain what all enjoy, the mysterious, the unspeakable delight of the first contact of soft, tender winter imprisoned feet suddenly freed from shoe-fetters with warm mother-earth and the welcoming lap and splash of early summer rain-water.

Yielding to such a temptation at the close of the shower, I joined a companion and with bare feet and rolled up pantaloons began waddling against the currents grateful wash in the street gutter, when an elder sister of the late Ambassador Bayard, a tall blonde, came slowly down the middle of the street, and with wistful eyes, and innocent flush on her face, stole softly with extended hand toward the alighted pigeons, when seeing us, and thinking some explanation necessary said with soft precision of cultured speech "I was

told that if I could put some salt on their tails I could catch them."

When the pigeons presently flew away, she turned to us with a sadly disappointed look, and gazed with what seemed envious eyes upon our more successful sport.

Immediately adjoining the corner building fronting on Market Street was the largest stable belonging to "Claytons Tavern" before mentioned. Next southward of the stable was the upper double gate entrance to the tavern yard. Next after a short interval came the brick building, afterward the Speakman property, where is now the brokerage and real estate office of L. J. Foulk, adjoining which with its long street frontage stood the famous tavern structure. Next adjacent to which, was the frame building of the colored barber "Spencer Boardly" and finally the lower entrance to the tavern yard, the upper corner of the present Equitable Building.

Since the demolition of the corner building, the only structure then standing on the square which still remains is the Speakman building, which was then but two stories high. In the rear of this Market Street frontage nearly the whole square was embraced in the tavern yard, which was lined along its upper and Shipley Street borders by a continuous range of sheds for the shelter of market animals. If not the largest or most elegant hotel in the State, the yard, buildings and various accommodations of the old Clayton Tavern comprised certainly the most extensive hostelry for rural trade or country entertainment to be found southward of the latitude of Philadelphia.

Standing at the intersection of the old Kennett road and the thoroughfare of Brandywine Hundred it received the



PENNOCK PUSEY,
1854.

bulk of the converged trade of extreme northern Delaware and adjoining counties of Pennsylvania, and frequently the commodious yard was so completely filled with market wagons, that the overflow resorted to the vacant area in the rear of the corner building as before stated.

And the hidden wonders, the mysterious charm with which our boyish imagination invested those round topped beautifully filled dearborns as they clustered in their white canvas covers in that crowded tavern yard! I shall never forget the visions of rustic fruits, of clustering berries and luscious cherries; nor the nameless summer luxuries and autumnal nut bounties which linked themselves with the Wednesday and Saturday visits of those market vehicles and assured them of a semi-weekly welcome of youthful cordiality.

Juvenile yearnings seemed thus so promptly realized that the ample present hid the blank future and its idle dreams.

Nor can I forget the wonderful skill of young Clayton the landlord's son who used to construct palatial abodes with lofty spire and sightly weather vane all painted in gorgeous colors for the use of the chattering martins, and I think as I shut my eyes I can yet see the quivering flock darken the air and hear their many cries as they flew in and out of their assigned home, perched on the cross beam supporting the tavern sign. Even as I can yet hear the creaking moan of that tavern sign as it swung in the wind and reached my ears on wakeful nights.

I recall how I admired the maker of such splendid things, and wondered as I watched him at work whether the world held a position too exalted for the final attainment of such a genius.

But above all is my kindly remembrance of old "Ben

Medford" the jolly negro Ostler in whose shiny bulk, and mock austerity of voice all children stood in awe: and whose coupled assumption of authority and real kindness of heart gave potent aid upon appeal to neighborhood parents in the government of rebellious children.

The two remembered incidents that happened next nearest the corner building are purely personal and it is only because they seem to aid in reproducing the features and local tone of the olden pictures that I venture to relate them.

The first was connected with the memorable snow storm of 1832 which was one of the very few wintry blasts that in blinding fury and depth of snow-fall perhaps equaled if it did not surpass our snow blizzard of last February.

Its whirling drifts filling fields and roads, obstructed all travel, and imprisoned people in their houses for several successive days.

The average urchin with so long a confinement becomes more or less of a savage.

In seeking a vent for my pent up energies I became so ungovernable as to be beyond the skill of mother and older sisters who with exhausted patience awaited the arrival of the "Family Head" as alone adequate to the emergency.

My father with great difficulty had managed to wade to and from his office and presently entered the house through snow reaching halfway to the top of the door way: upon hearing of my accumulated offences my father stood a moment as if silently struggling with his quakerly aversion to physical punishment; and then suddenly seizing me by the collar and seat of the pantaloons and directing others to open the door pitched me above the snow line obstructing it, plump upon an outside snowdrift into which I sank to the

neck with my face toward the old corner building directly across the street, and I remember distinctly gazing blankly at its familiar bricks and mortar which as the nearest uncovered object seemed to restore my half dazed consciousness from the threatening stress of the climax. Still more vividly I remember lingering in my chilly lodgement long enough to query with myself whether it comported with my quickly found dignity ever to re-enter that house, but hot indignation could not long endure in so cooling a predicament and it is needless to say, I soon struggled out of my snow bondage and re-entered the warm house a chillier and soberer if not a better lad.

The other of the two incidents which happened earlier, was even less creditable to my boyhood deportment.

The Reservoir constructed on the site of the present Court House had been completed so recently that it yet continued to be an object of novel interest, much visited by strangers and even neighbors.

A procession of scholars from the "Hilles" school then kept by "Dubre Knight" had been formed in couples with the teacher in the centre for the purpose of visiting the new wonder.

Seeing them approach I ran to open the gate which was kept shut by a weight suspended to an iron chain.

When the first half of the line of scholars had passed through and the teacher reached the gate, he handed me a penny or two as a reward for my services. I was so overwhelmed at so joyful and unexpected a bounty, which was perhaps the first money I had ever earned, that in my childhood excitement I thoughtlessly let go the gate and ran home to report my good fortune.

"And did the gate keep open" queried my mother until all had passed through? Alas! for my short-lived joy, it then first dawned upon me that by my thoughtless conduct I had allowed the slamming gate to shut off half the scholars who had to struggle through as best they could.

With shame and humiliation I crept across into the shade of the old corner building, to watch for the return of the visiting scholars that I might redeem my credit upon their exit.

Such are some of the memories closely associated with the now demolished corner building. A little wider vicinity northward, included a frame building standing back from Market Street, at the rear of the present establishment of the "Young Men's Christian Association" was where, upon the division of the society of friends in 1827, the Orthodox branch started a school taught by Jane Kinsey and Sarah W. Pyle afterward Mrs. Joshua L. Pusey.

A little further northward still stands the old building where lived Jacob Alrichs a lineal descendant of the old Colonial Dutch officials, who was included in the recent interesting paper by Mr. Conrad on the old clock makers of the state.

Immediately adjoining the rear yard of this "Alrich" property was the reservoir of the primitive water system of the borough, into which water was brought from Cool Spring through underground wooden pipes, and by the same means reconducted to underground tanks at certain corners throughout the upper town.

This odd basin was afterward used by Benjamin Webb as an ice house, part of the walls yet linger in the rear of what has been known as the "Southard" property facing the present Court House.

A little larger environment beyond this embraces a large pasture field, the beginning of the open country first broken by the erection of Dr. Thomson's residence now occupied by Dr. Draper. Opposite this across Market Street, was the home of the second "James A. Bayard" and I think the birthplace of his son Ambassador Bayard, where afterward lived the late Col. McComb.

Thence circling upon the same radius, was the olden "Potters Field" upon which was afterward built the residence of the late "George Read Riddle," a few rods south of which, opposite the King Street entrance of the Court House yet stands the old Baptist Church looking much as it did seventy years ago.

Next southward were the "Hilles School," corner of Tenth and King Streets, and thence continuing the circle slightly elongated southerly stood the old "Academy" below Ninth, between King and Market Street, then the residence of "Ex-Gov. Bennett" nearly opposite on Market Street.

The "Black Bear Tavern" and yard where now stands the Post Office, and a collection of buildings at the corner of Tenth and Orange Streets, including "Rice's Foundry" now Pyle's Cycling Academy, "Danby's cooper shops" and "Kirk's wheel-wright and wagon works."

To this point broad grain and pasture fields marked only with clusters of farm buildings, reached toward the borough from far north and south, while a considerable space divided it from the Milling Village of Brandywine which was reached by a gravelled avenue known as "Brandywine Walk" shaded by a uniform row of Lombardy Poplars.

The neighborhood of which the "Corner Building" was the center, is thus peculiarly representative in character

which will stand to attest the wise forethought of pious forefathers. It is significant of the amazing changes and inspiring progress characteristic of the country and age. It forcibly marks the steady transition from the old to the new, more perhaps than any other locality in our city, it links the venerable past and the hopeful future.

It was here that some of the earliest edifices in Re-awakened Wilmington were built and consecrated to worship. This venerable building, and the old Baptist Church nearby witnessed the essential early provision for religious needs and have watched their ample development in an ever widening circle.

It was in this centre that many of the early schools took root and lent aid to the educational expansion.

Here centered the rude Water System which gave place in close proximity to the City Reservoir.

Here converged the two principal thoroughfares commanding the market trade of the highland regions north and west whence came the seed of future growth.

This centre witnessed the manufacture both of wagons, ploughshares and other primitive industries, and the earliest cars for the quickened era of railroad transit.

Moreover the supposed builder of the corner structure was also the builder of the rear row of houses on Shipley Street: And they were the first continuous row of uniform tenements, marking a distinct advance in the urban development of our city.

So the lofty edifice now being reared upon the old corner will mark a further stride in the structural growth which is placing Wilmington modestly in line with the great cities of our latest civilization.

With this fair and healthy advance, with her inclusion of all conditions, her combination of enterprise and conservation, and a nice medium between extremes, our city presents a character which united with her temperate climate, her rare geographical position, and her various facilities for rational progress, justifies cause for past content and a guarantee for the future.

PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.

XL.

SAMUEL WHITE AND HIS FATHER
JUDGE THOMAS WHITE.

AN ALMOST FORGOTTEN SENATOR; AND HIS
FATHER WHO WAS A FOLLOWER OF
ASBURY IN THE EARLY DAYS
OF METHODISM.

BY

HENRY C. CONRAD,

LIBRARIAN OF THE SOCIETY.

Read before the Historical Society of Delaware, Sept. 21, 1903.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE,
WILMINGTON,
1903.

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SAMUEL WHITE.

The wheels of time move swiftly and surely. Men come and go and are forgotten. But few of the many make such an impression as to leave behind them a record that is remembered.

Just one hundred and two years ago, Samuel White was appointed United States Senator by Governor Richard Bassett, to succeed Dr. Henry Latimer, who had resigned the office; and after the lapse of a century it is with difficulty that enough information can be gotten together to make a respectable biography of this man who held the exalted position of United States Senator from Delaware.

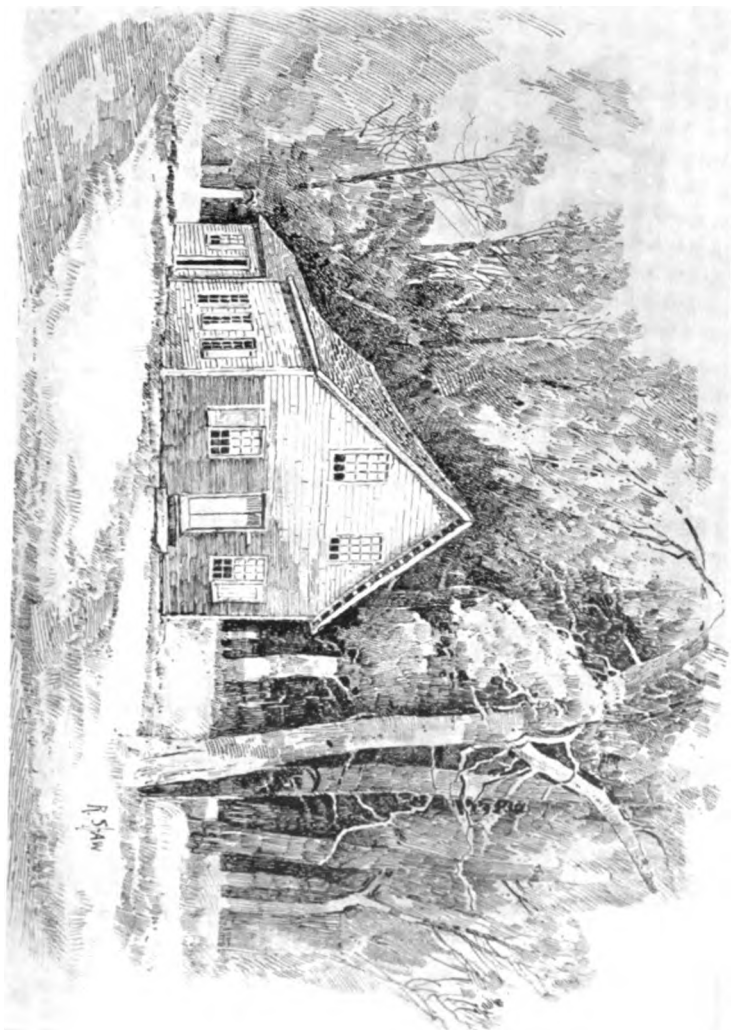
Investigation establishes the fact that Samuel White was a son of Thomas White, and that he was born in 1770, on the farm of his father in Mispillion Hundred, Kent County, Delaware, a few miles from the village of Whiteleysburg. The father, Thomas White, was known as Judge White, having from 1777 until 1792 served as one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas and Orphans' Court of Kent County; during the last two years of that time as Chief Justice. This Court existed under the first constitution of the State, adopted in 1776, but was abolished by the constitution of 1792. Judge White, at the time of his death, was Register of Wills for Kent County. He was one of the large land owners in Kent County and an influential citizen.



*Fac simile of the Signature
of Thomas White.*

In 1777 when Francis Asbury made his advent into Delaware as the pioneer preacher of Methodism, Judge White and his brother Dr. Edward White became much interested in him and in the cause which he represented, and in time, both became converts, and afterwards warm adherents of his faith. Asbury spent much time at the home of the two White brothers, but he became particularly attached to Thomas White, and in his journal speaks of him as his "dearest friend in America," and says that Judge White's home was the only home that he ever had. Asbury never married, and being in the Methodist itinerancy from his early days, had no permanent place of abode. Most of the Methodist preachers were English-born, and one of their tenets was a refusal to bear arms. Denounced by other sects as "noisy, pestilential fellows" and suspected by the authorities of enmity to the patriotic cause, the Methodists fell into great disfavor during the Revolution. Judge White, because of his adherence to the Methodist cause and his close friendship for Asbury, was suspected, of being at least lukewarm towards the independence of the colonies and so strong did the sentiment become against him that in the autumn of 1777 he was arrested and imprisoned as a Tory. After being separated from his family some weeks, which was a source of great concern and distress to them, he was exonerated and discharged.

This was while Asbury was sheltered and cared for on the White plantation. On the death of Asbury in 1816, Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, one of the earliest Methodist preachers from the peninsula, preached a funeral discourse on Asbury in St. George's Church in Philadelphia in the course of which, referring to this period, he said, "Asbury found an asylum,



WHITE'S MEETING HOUSE.
A. D. 1779.

as his castle of safety in the house and with the hospitable family of his fast and firm friend, Thomas White, Esq., one of the Judges of the Court in Kent County, Delaware. He was a pious man and his wife one of the holiest of women; they were great friends to the cause of religion and to preachers generally. From this place of retreat and protection, as in a castle of repose and safety, he could correspond with his suffering brethern, who were scattered abroad in different parts. He could also, occasionally travel about, visiting the societies and sometimes preaching to the people. in some of their movements they had to be very cautious and circumspect, for they were watched as the hawk watches the partridge on the mountain, and as the wolves watch the sheep of the pasture and the lambs of the flock." The fact that subsequently Judge White was honored with important public station would indicate that he continued in favor with the populace as well as with those in authority. One of the earliest Methodist Churches on the peninsula was "White's Chapel," named for the Judge, and situated near Judge White's residence. A church bearing the same name still stands a few miles from the old site. The original White's Chapel falling in disuse, went to decay, but years afterwards, the frame work that remained, was removed a mile or more westward, across the State line into Maryland, and there it was used as part of the super-structure of what was called Lee's Chapel, and for many years was regularly used for Methodist services. In course of time it was supplanted by Shepherd's Chapel and the building, still in a good state of preservation, is used as a barn or storehouse on the Carter farm, adjoining the old location of Lee's Chapel.

It was at Judge White's house that the first conference of the Methodist preachers was held on April 28th, 1779, and it was here that the important and significant step was taken of appointing Francis Asbury, the general assistant or superintendent in America, with the right of determining questions in conference after due consideration. From this time Asbury became the recognized centre of Methodism in America, and in Judge White's house was born the idea of Episcopal Supervision.

Judge White died at his plantation in 1795, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Asbury in speaking of the death of Judge White, makes this entry in his journal: "This news was attended with an awful shock to me. I have met with nothing like it in the death of any friend on the continent. I have lived days, weeks, and months in his house. He was a friend to the poor and oppressed; he had been a professed churchman, and united to the Methodist connection about seventeen or eighteen years. His house and heart were always open; and he was a faithful friend to liberty in spirit and practice; he was a wise, indulgent husband, a tender father, and an affectionate friend."

Judge White devised his home place, called "Belisle" to his son Samuel White. This son seems to have had the advantage of a good education. He studied law presumably with Richard Bassett, and was admitted to the bar at Dover in March 1793. Soon after his admission he seems to have deserted his native county, and as far as is known never occupied the farm which his father devised to him. The farm he sold in 1806 to John Orrell, and with this his connection with Kent County ceased. He took up his residence in Wilmington, where he resided during all the time he was

in public life. He was a Federalist in politics, but held no office until appointed United States Senator on February 28th, 1801, by Governor Bassett.

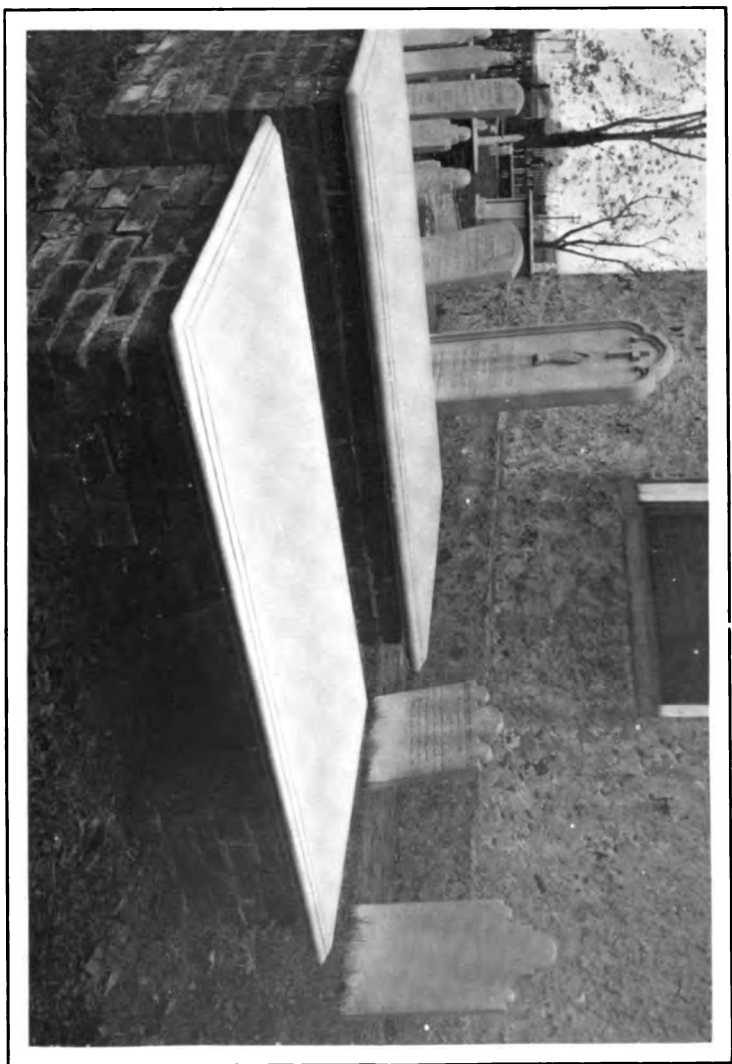
Richard Bassett, like Judge White was a communicant in the Church of England. The story is told that Bassett had been engaged in the trial of a case at Denton, Maryland, and was driving from Denton to his home in Dover, and stopped at Judge White's for supper, Mrs. White was entertaining Asbury and some of his companions, and sought to keep them out of sight of the distinguished lawyer. Forced to introduce them, Asbury made such an impression upon Bassett that it led to the conversion of the latter, who became an enthusiastic Methodist, and so continued during his life. At Bassett's death in 1815, at his home on Bohemia Manor, a funeral discourse commemorative of him and of his distinguished father-in-law James A. Bayard, the elder, was preached by Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, who at that time ranked as the most eloquent and forcible preacher of his day. Twenty years and more after Richard Bassett had broken bread under Thomas White's roof and been introduced to Francis Asbury, he remembered his good friend of early days and appointed his son Samuel White to the vacancy in the United States Senate. On January 11th, 1803, at the regular session of the General Assembly, Samuel White was elected for the full term of Senator beginning March 4th, 1803. He was placed in nomination by Outerbridge Horsey, a representative from Sussex County, and was elected over George Read Junr, (a son of the signer of the Declaration) by a vote of 20 to 9. He served the full term, and on January 11th, 1809, was re-elected for a second term. At this election he was placed

in nomination by Henry M. Ridgely, a representative from Kent County, and received 17 votes to 10 votes cast for Andrew Gray, the grandfather of our present Judge George Gray, who was a manufacturer in Mill Creek Hundred. At the time of his election he had barely reached the constitutional age of a senator, and was one of the youngest members ever elected to that body. It is a remarkable fact that both of the men who placed Samuel White in nomination for Senator afterwards became members of that body. Outerbridge Horsey was elected as the successor of Senator White on the latter's death in 1809, and Henry M. Ridgely was elected United States Senator in 1827.

Samuel White had as his colleague in the Senate, for one year, William Hill Wells, of Sussex County, and afterwards James A. Bayard, the elder. The proceedings of the Senate show that Samuel White was not a silent member. Soon after his admission he made a vigorous speech in opposition to the Louisiana Purchase, and placed himself decidedly against the doctrine of expansion. Nothing in the way of records remain to indicate how active or prominent he became as a lawyer. The first reported cases of Delaware decisions begin twenty years and more after his death.

While still a member of the United States Senate he died on the fourth day of November, 1809, at Wilmington. His remains were interred at the Old Swedes' graveyard, this city, where a plain slab covering his grave contains the following inscription:

BENEATH THIS STONE
ARE DEPOSITED THE REMAINS OF
SAMUEL WHITE, Esq.,
A NATIVE OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE
WHO DIED NOVEMBER 4th, 1809.
AGE 39 YEARS.



THE TOMB OF SAMUEL WHITE.

The following obituary appeared in the "American Daily Advertiser" of November 8th, 1809, published by Zachariah Poulson in Philadelphia:—

"With painful regret we announce the death of Samuel White, Esq., he died at his lodgings in Wilmington, on Saturday morning last (November 4th, 1809). Mr. White has for several years past represented the State of Delaware in the Senate of the United States where his talents were known to be respectable, and his integrity unblemished. In the circle of his acquaintances, which were very extensive, his loss will be severely felt, and deeply regretted, and his virtues in private life will be long cherished in grateful remembrance. His probity of conduct, urbanity of manner and manly deportment justly entitled him to the rank of a worthy citizen and an accomplished gentlemen."

At the opening of the Général Assembly in January 1810, in the message of Governor George Truitt the following reference was made to the death of Senator White:—

"In the death of Mr. White, late a Senator from this State in Congress, we have to deplore the loss of a very amiable man, a good citizen and a faithful representative; and although the vacancy occasioned by his death occurred in the recess of the legislature, yet wishing to leave you a free and unbiassed choice, not fettered with an incumbent, whom it might be unpleasant to overlook in the selection, I have not taken upon myself the exercise of the discretionary power vested in me by the constitution of the United States, of appointing a person to succeed him. This subject will claim your early attention."

Samuel White never married. His father Judge White, at the time of his death left to survive him a widow named Margaret, who was the daughter of David Nutter, of North West Fork Hundred, Sussex County, the one son Samuel, and three daughters, named respectively: Margaret Nutter Polk, Sarah Cook and Anna White. As far as ascertained the latter never married; Margaret Nutter, the oldest daughter, married Daniel Polk, of Sussex County.

Daniel Polk was the son of Robert Polk, Jr., and his grand parents were Robert and Magdalen Polk of Sussex County. Daniel Polk was a member from Sussex County, of the Constitutional Convention which formulated the Constitution of the State of Delaware of 1792.

Daniel Polk was an enterprising money-getting man. He accumulated a large property but died insolvent. After his marriage with Miss White they first lived in Sussex County, and later in Kent County, presumably on part of the White land. Daniel Polk died March 29th, 1796, and his wife on September 3d of the same year. Ten children were born of the marriage of whom eight survived their father and mother, all being minors, at the time of their parents death. Elizabeth Polk, the oldest daughter married December 6th, 1795, Doctor James Lawson Clayton, a son of Governor Joshua Clayton. Doctor Clayton made his home all his life on Bohemia Manor, just across the line in Cecil County, Maryland, and eight children were born of the marriage. There are several descendants of this line still living. The Clayton house is still standing. Both Doctor Clayton and his wife were buried in the cemetery at Bethel M. E. Church.

John Polk, the second child of Daniel Polk entered the



PEGGY POLK, NIECE OF SENATOR WHITE.
WHO MARRIED DR. GEORGE LOGAN.



U. S. Navy as a mid-shipman in 1799 and was lost in the wreck of the "Insurgent." He was unmarried.

Peggy, or Margaret, the third child of Daniel Polk with her twin sister Sarah, was born September 26th, 1780, Sarah died when a year old. Peggy Polk married Doctor George Logan of South Carolina, whom she met while attending school in Philadelphia, Doctor Logan at the time being a student of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. They were married at Doctor Clayton's, and Miss Polk was the ward of Hon. Cæsar A. Rodney, who had been a very close political friend of her father's. Doctor George Logan and his wife lived in South Carolina, Mrs. Logan died in 1826, at the age of forty-six years, leaving six sons to survive her. There are grand children still living, Mrs. Logan was the beauty of the family.

Daniel Polk, Jr., the fifth child of Daniel Polk entered the U. S. Navy as Mid-shipman in 1799, both he and his brother John being appointed to the Navy by President John Adams on the recommendation of Cæsar A. Rodney. Daniel Jr., resigned from the Navy in 1804, and married in 1812 his cousin Eleanor Polk, daughter of Trusten Laws Polk. They emigrated to Louisville, Kentucky and afterward located in Shelby County in the same State. They had twelve children, who were the progenitors of many descendants. Eleanor Polk, wife of Daniel, Jr., died before her husband and he afterwards married a lady from Kentucky named Hite, by whom there were no children. Daniel, Jr., died in Kentucky June 14th, 1838. Several descendants of this line are living.

Thomas White Polk, the sixth child of Daniel Polk was born in 1784 but lived only ten years. Another son Robert,

born two years later lived to be nine years old, and the tenth and last child named Maria, died in infancy.

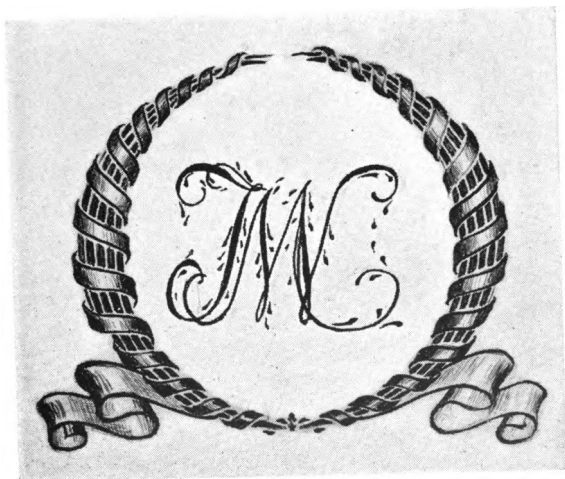
Anna Polk, the eighth child of Daniel Polk born in 1788 married William Gibson Tilghman of Talbot County, Maryland in 1809. There were nine Tilghman children, five of whom grew to maturity and married, and are nearly if not all represented by descendants at the present time.

Samuel White Polk, the ninth child of Daniel Polk, born in 1790, was educated by his uncle, the Senator, and married Margaret F. Fletcher, daughter of Governor Fletcher of Louisiana. His life after marriage was spent in New Orleans, where several of his descendants are still living. He is said to have been a man who was scrupulously neat in his attire and who lived a life of ease.

The only descendants of Judge Thomas White came through his daughter Margaret Nutter, who married Daniel Polk as traced above.

Judge White's daughter Sarah, married Doctor Robert Cook the only son of John Cook, Governor of Delaware in 1783. Doctor Cook during his married life with Sarah White lived in or near Smyrna, and practiced his profession there. No children were born of the marriage, and Sarah Cook died early, and afterwards Doctor Cook married Nancy Rogers, the widow of Governor Daniel Rogers of Milford, and after his marriage to her he lived in the large mansion house in South Milford now owned and occupied by Joseph E. Holland.

Samuel White served as guardian for nearly all of the orphaned children of his sister Margaret Nutter Polk. They inherited some means from their mother and this was invested



FAC SIMILE OF MONOGRAM
ON THE
FAMILY SILVER
OF
THOMAS AND MARGARET WHITE.

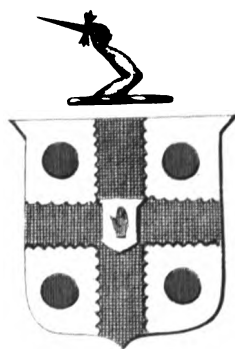
and looked after by their uncle who also interested himself in their education and establishment in life.

The portrait of Samuel White, which appears in this publication is a copy from a portrait drawn by St. Memim and presumably was made about the year 1808. In it he appears in uniform. On September 21st, 1807, he was appointed Adjutant General of the Militia of the State by Governor Nathaniel Mitchell. In 1803 he was commissioned by the Governor, under an Act of the General Assembly, to obtain copies from Pennsylvania of the early land grants made by the proprietaries, of real estate located in Delaware, but which had been improperly recorded elsewhere. He served for several years as one of the State directors of the Farmers Bank, and was a Presidential Elector in 1800.

Judge White by his will which was probated at Dover, March 7th, 1795, provided for the liberation of all his slaves using the following language therein: "I think it wrong and oppressive and not doing as I would be willing to be done by, to keep negroes in bondage or perpetual slavery. I therefore, hereby manumit and set free those that are or have been in bondage to me." He then mentions the names of twenty-one slaves. Samuel White, the son, seemed imbued with the same idea, as the records at Dover disclose four separate deeds of manumission from Samuel White to slaves owned by him, between 1799 and 1804.

These fragments of history that remain after the lapse of a century, justify the conclusion that both father and son were true sons of Delaware; and that in their day and generation they merited the recognition and honors that fell to them.





MOTTO :

"PROBITATEM QUAM DIVITIIS."

THE COAT OF ARMS
OF
THE CLAYTON FAMILY.

PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.

XLI.

THE CLAYTON FAMILY.

BY

HENRY F. HEPBURN, ESQ., L.L. B.

OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Read before the Historical Society of Delaware, Feb. 15, 1904.

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THE CLAYTON FAMILY.

It is well to start with the family history at the foundation, and then follow it up through its various changes to the present time. We will start about 912, when Rollo made peace with the King of France, and the Dukedom of Normandy was confirmed. In that settlement after a thirty years war, the King of France agreed to confirm Rollo's title as Duke of Normandy, and give him his daughter in marriage; the Duke agreeing to do homage to the King, to become a Christian and marry the King's daughter. But when the time came for the Duke to do homage, he refused to kiss the King's foot, and no persuasion or entreaty could induce him to perform that part of the ceremony. It was finally compromised by permitting Rollo to kiss the King's foot by proxy, but when the courtier lifted up the King's foot, he raised it so high that it tumbled the King out of his chair, which created great laughter among those present. Yet the King bore this indignity, well knowing that Rollo's army was too strong to meet in battle.

From that time Normandy began to flourish, and during the time of its first six dukes, it was one of the richest provinces in the world, notwithstanding its many wars. When "William the Conqueror", who was the seventh Duke, came upon the stage of action, Normandy was divided into two classes, the nobility, who were the descendants of Rollo's followers, and the peasants who were the descendants of the French; so that we find a class of cultured people, who had

much of the polish of Paris, and who were far in advance of the Saxons in England.

During the time of the quarrel between William the Conqueror and King Harold, William called together his chieftains in council. Some were willing to go to war while others refused; but one of his brainy men "Fitzosborne" advised the Duke to call upon the nobility separately, which was done, and in a short time sufficient men and means were ready for his enterprise. A man by the name of Robert, born in Caudebec Normandy, France, accompanied William the Conqueror to England. He was a soldier well skilled in arms, and after the battle of Hastings, had the Manor of Clayton given him by William the Conqueror for his laudable services in battle. He was afterwards known as "Robert de Clayton" and was Lord of the Manor of Clayton, and the first Clayton spoken of in the history of England.

He had three sons:—John, William and Robert. John accompanied William Rufus in his war against "Malcolm" King of Scotland, and fell nobly in battle near Penrith, in Cumberland. William de Clayton, the second son, succeeded his father. He faithfully served King Stephen in all his troubles, and on Candlemas Day, 1141, he lost his life in battle, and was succeeded by his son Robert.

Robert had one son William de Clayton. He married Elizabeth Farrington, of Farrington. He had three sons and died in 1152 and was buried at Leyland, Lancashire. The eldest son, Richard, was a priest of a very benevolent character and died in Normandy. Thomas, the second son, died without issue and Robert de Clayton, the third son, succeeded his father. He married in 1151 and had four



JOHN M. CLAYTON.

sons:—William, Robert, John and Thomas. Three of the sons accompanied King John into Normandy in 1200 and died without issue. John the third son succeeded his father. He had two sons William and Thomas and died in 1209 and was succeeded by his second son Thomas de Clayton.

Thomas de Clayton had three sons, John, Robert and William. John, the eldest son, succeeded his father. He married in 1263 and died in 1280, having had issue two sons, Thomas and Ralph. He was succeeded by his second son Ralph de Clayton who left three sons, John, Giles and Nicholas, and he was succeeded by his eldest son, John de Clayton. This John accompanied John of Gaunt in 1356 to assist the King of Navarre against the French. He also accompanied King Edward in most of his expeditions. He left four sons: John, William, Ralph and Robert and died in 1399 and was succeeded by his eldest son John de Clayton, who had three sons, Thomas, Robert and William, he died in 1404, and was buried at Leyland, and was succeeded by his eldest son. Thomas de Clayton married Dorothy Thellwell of Thellwell in Cheshire with whom he received that township and village as a marriage portion and by whom he had two sons, John born in 1419, and William born in 1420. (William died without issue in 1471.) Thomas de Clayton died in 1426 and was succeeded by his eldest son, John de Clayton, who married, in 1440, Mary Mainwaring.

ANCESTRY OF MARY MAINWARING.

The Mainwarings are the descendants of "Ranulphus, one of the companions of William the Conqueror in the Norman Invasion and also one of those thirty-two persons, to whom that fortunate monarch gave all or most of Cheshire, of which he obtained fifteen lordships in Peure (now Overpever) which remained in the family until 1700."

His grandson, Roger, had a son named William, who was the father of Sir Ralph Mainwaring, Knt., who was a Judge of Chester in the reign of Richard (1). He is the first Mainwaring spoken of in history. He married Amicia, daughter of Hugh Kyviliok, Earl of Chester, whose ancestors were as follows:—

After the conquest, William the Conqueror, gave to his nephew, Hugh Lupus, the Earldom of Chester about the year 1070. *He died July 27, 1101, leaving a son, his heir. II. Richard, second Earl of Chester who married but died without issue, and the Earldom descended to the nephew of Hugh Lupus by his sister Maude.

III. Randal (1) Earl of Chester. He was Randall Meschines, V. C., of Bayeaux, Normandy, France, and married Lucy, a daughter of Algar, the Saxon Earl of Marcia and died 1128, leaving issue his son and heir.

IV. Randal (2) Earl of Chester, who became a great warrior and took King Stephen prisoner. He married Maude, daughter of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of King Henry (1) of England and died 1153 leaving two sons, Hugh and Richard and was succeeded by his eldest son.

V. Hugh (2) Earl of Chester. He married Bertred, a daughter of Simon, Earl of Evereaux, Normandy, France, by whom he had (1) Randal, (2) Maude, who married David, Earl of Huntingdon, and was a brother of William, King of Scotland, (3) Mabil, who married William Albiny, Earl of Arundel, (4) Agnes, who married William Ferrars, Earl of Derby, (5) Hawaise, who married Robert Quincy, son and heir of Sabil de Quincy, Earl of Winchester.

He had another daughter not of this marriage named Amacia (Amice) over whom a great controversy was carried on between Sir Peter Leycester and Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Sir Peter claiming that she was an illegitimate daughter and Sir Thomas claiming that she was a legitimate daughter. Finally the question was referred to the Judges of Chester, who decided that Amacia was the legitimate daughter of Hugh (5) Earl of Chester and the heralds quartered the arms of the Earls of Chester with the Mainwarings. Amacia married Rause (Ralph) Mainwaring and it appears from the manuscripts that Bertred, the wife of Hugh Cyviliok, second, (5) Earl of Chester, witnessed a deed in frank marriage with said Amacia. By this marriage there were two children, one of whom, the daughter, was named after Bertred, the Countess of Chester, and a son named Randal, who became the head of the Mainwaring Family of Overpever in Cheshire about 1175, and from whom the Mainwaring Family descended.

It will thus appear that this Amacia Mainwaring had in her the blood of William the Conqueror and the old Saxon Earls. She was the great grand-daughter of Henry (1) King of England, and great grand-daughter of the Earl

Garva of Marcia, also a descendant of the Earls of Normandy, and the early Saxon Kings.

Her half sister Maude was the ancestor of Baloil, King of Scotland, also of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland and his descendants, making her related to the ancient Anglo-Saxon Kings, to the English Norman Kings, to the Scotch Kings, and the nobility of Normandy.

Robert Fitzroy, her grand-father, was a scholar and a soldier, and commanded the forces of Empress Maude against King Stephen. From the above recital it clearly shows that Mary Mainwaring who married John de Clayton was a lineal descendant of Hugh Cyviliok, Earl of Chester through his daughter Amacia, who married Ralph Mainwaring. The Mainwaring family is very old, and the founder Ranulf received fifteen manors or lordships in Cheshire for his services to William the Conqueror.

John de Clayton, who married Mary Mainwaring of Cheshire, had by her two sons, first: Thomas, who was afterwards disinherited for disobeying his parents, (2) William and also three daughters. His first wife died in 1445 and he married secondly Jane Clifton, by whom he had two sons Robert and Richard. Robert the eldest son, by the second wife, died in Paris in 1471 without issue, and Richard Clayton, the youngest son by the second wife succeeded to the estate, but dying without issue, he was succeeded by William de Clayton, a son of Thomas de Clayton and he dying without issue was succeeded by Robert Clayton, third son of Thomas who was disinherited. Robert Clayton as above, married Jane Farrington, by whom he had four sons:—Thomas, born in 1498; John born in 1499; Edward born in 1505; and Richard born in 1506, and



SARAH (MIDDLETON) CLAYTON,
THE MOTHER OF JOHN M. CLAYTON.

three daughters. He died 1510 and was buried at Leyland and was succeeded by his eldest son Thomas Clayton who married, in 1561-3, Anne Jackson, of Bocking in Essex, and had two sons, Robert and William, and died in 1580. Robert, the eldest son, was of St. John's College and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. He married and had one son, John Clayton. This John Clayton had a son, Richard, and two daughters, Dorothy and Elizabeth.

He died December 20, 1623, aged twenty-seven years and was succeeded by Richard Clayton, his eldest and only son, who died by a fall from his horse, without issue.

The family estates of Clayton and Crook went by virtue of the settlement to Dorothy, his eldest sister, who was the wife of George Leycester, of Toft in Cheshire, Esquire. Whereupon the Lordship of Clayton, granted by William the Conqueror, went with this Dorothy Clayton, to her husband, and was afterward sold. This must have occurred about 1650 or 1660.

The line was continued by William Clayton, second son of Thomas Clayton and Anne Jackson. He had five sons (1) Thomas, born in 1585, (2) William, born in 1587, (3) John, born in 1588, (4) Ralph, born in 1589, (5) Richard, born in 1592 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Thomas Clayton, who had the estates in Fulwood in Lancashire settled upon him and his issue.

He married and had issue: Robert; Thomas, born in 1630 and one daughter, Annie. Robert had four sons: Thomas, William, John and Richard. Thomas, the eldest son, had one son, Robert, born 1695, who became the Bishop of Clogher, and died Feb. 26, 1756. He bequeathed his Lancashire estate to his nearest male heir "The Right

Honorable Richard Clayton, Lord Chief Justice of The Common Pleas in Ireland." Thomas Clayton, the second son of Thomas, on the death of the Bishop, became the representative of the family. He married a daughter of John Atherton by whom he had five sons: (1) Thomas, (2) John, (3) Richard, (4) Thomas, of whom hereafter, (5) Robert and seven daughters. This Thomas purchased the Lordships and estates of Worthington and Adlington and died in the ninety-second year of his age. Thomas, the eldest son of Thomas Clayton and Ann Atherton, married in 1697, Martha, daughter of Joshua Horton, of Chaderton, Esq., by whom he had five sons: Thomas, William, Richard, Edward and John and four daughters. He died in 1728 at Adlington in the sixty-first year of his age. Thomas, his eldest son, died in 1735 unmarried.

Richard, the third son, was brought up to the bar and became King's counsel, and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, which office he resigned in 1774, and died the same year aged sixty-eight. By his will dated the sixteenth day of March, 1772, he devised his Manors of Adlington and Worthington to his nephew, Richard Clayton.

The successor in line was John Clayton, the fifth son. He had four sons: Richard, Robert, William and John, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard Clayton, Esq., who was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1762, called 1771, and made a reader in 1811. He was created a baronet May 3, 1774, and died in 1828. This ancient family produced soldiers of valor and skill, preachers and monks of great learning, and lawyers and jurists of great ability.

We will now take up the family in Yorkshire, a branch of the family of "The Manor of Clayton."

As it is well known that from 1500 to 1660 the History of England met with so many disasters, it is next to impossible to get the family registry of the various branches during that period.

We find in 1499 that Robert Clayton of the Manor of Clayton had a son born named John. It is contended that this John settled in Yorkshire and was the founder of Clayton Hall. His eldest brother, Thomas, succeeded to the Manor of Clayton, but did not marry until he was over sixty years old. John married and had two sons, Thomas, his heir, and Richard of Wakefield, Yorkshire. The names that follow are similar to the names of the family of the Manor of Clayton, the dates harmonize, but the strongest evidence of the relationship is the arms borne by the family.

The arms of the descendants of the Manor of Clayton of Lancashire and the arms of the descendants of John Clayton of Clayton Hall are the same. It is claimed that John Clayton, second son of Robert Clayton, and great grandson of John de Clayton and Mary Mainwaring, was the founder of Clayton Hall, in the parish of High Hoyland, in the County of Yorkshire, England, and in proof of this assertion, we find that the dates, family names, marriages and coat of arms are the same. This similarity of names covers over eight hundred years and part of that time on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. But LeNeve in his "Knights of England," pp. 186-7, appears to have settled this question as he has placed Thomas Clayton, son of John Clayton, of Clayton Hall in Yorkshire, as being born at Clayton Hall in Lancashire. And there is another reason why it is prob-

able that Thomas Clayton was born in Lancashire, namely : His uncle, Thomas Clayton, who was the oldest son and heir and successor to the estates in Lancashire did not marry until 1563, and it is more than probable that the younger brother, having married early, lived at the family mansion until after his children were born.

John Clayton, of Clayton Hall in High Hoyland Parish, County of Yorkshire, was living about 1550. He had two sons, Thomas and Richard. Richard of Wakefield married Joan, daughter of Henry Bentley, by whom he had one son, Daniel of Wakefield. Daniel married (1) Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Methwold, Esq., and had issue Richard, D. D., Master of University College; (2) Jane, daughter of Thomas Leghe, by whom he had four sons: Thomas, Robert, Ferdinando and John.

Thomas Clayton, the eldest son of John Clayton of Clayton Hall, Lancashire (*), married Anguis, daughter of John Thornhill of Fixby, County York, and died about the year 1585, having had issue two sons:

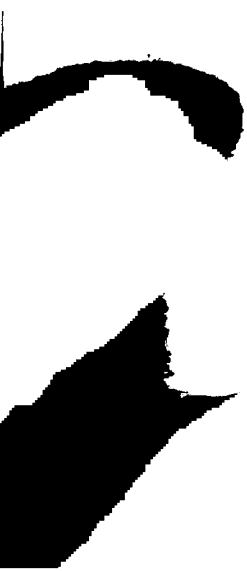
(1) John Clayton of Clayton Hall, who died in 1618. His will is dated the 13th day of April, 1618. He married a daughter of . . . Barnby, of Barnby Hall, and had one son, Thomas, of Clayton Hall, who married Alice, daughter of . . . Burdette of Dunly, and sold Clayton Hall to Sir George Cook of Wheatly. This "John" is called Richard in some of the works, but it must be a mistake.

William Clayton, of Oakenshaw, County York, and of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, married Margaret, daughter of Jasper Cholmley of East Riding, and died 1627, having had issue eight sons and three daughters.

* See LeNeve's *Knights*, pp. 186-7.



BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN M. CLAYTON.
DAGSBORO, DELAWARE.



(1) John Clayton, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law in 1626, born April 15, 1592, died April, 1671. He married and had issue (1) John Clayton, of the Inner Temple and a Barrister at Law, born 1620; (2) James Clayton, born 1624. John, the eldest son d. s. p., and James, the second son, became a D. D., and the issue of that branch of the family produced many ministers and lawyers.

2. William, the second son of William Clayton of Oakenshaw, has no record.

3. Thomas, the third son, settled in the City of London, and had issue five sons and two daughters.

4. Sir Jasper Clayton married Mary Thompson. He was an alderman of London and knighted at Guild Hall, July 5, 1660. He married at St. Faith's, London, May 1, 1624, Mary, daughter of William Thompson of Timouth Castle, Northumberland. The "issue of this family was as follows: (1) "Sir John, of London and Parson's Green, Fulham, "Middlesex, admitted to Inner Temple, July 22, 1650, "knighted 1664; married Alice, daughter of Sir William "North Crey, Esq.; (2) George, of London, haberdasher, "born in St. Edmunds, Lombard street, December 24, 1639; "was at Merchant Taylor's School, married Hester, "daughter of Sir Thomas, and sister of Sir Henry "Palmer, of Wingham, Kent, Baronets; (3) Mary, married Peter Nourse, of Woodeaton, Oxfordshire; (4) "Prudence; (5) Rebecca married Robert Paston, Earl of "Yarmouth."

George and Hester (Palmer) Clayton had issue: (1) Jasper Clayton, admitted to the Inner Temple, July 12, 1682. He was probably the Jasper Clayton, born July,

1665, who was a scholar of Merchant Taylor's School ;
(2) George.

"Sir John and Alice (Bowyer) Clayton had issue :

- ✓ " (1) John, born 1665, died November 18, 1737, studied at
" one of the universities (probably Cambridge) and was
" admitted to the Inner Temple, June 6, 1682 ; was called
" to the bar, and coming to Virginia in 1705, was appointed
" Attorney-General of the Colony in 1714 and held the
" office until his death. He was also judge of the Court
" of Admiralty, frequently a member of the House of
" Burgesses, presiding justice of James City County and
" Recorder of Williamsburg. One of his descendants has
" a large volume containing copies of many of his letters to
" his English correspondents. These relate chiefly to the
" business affairs of himself and his clients, but some notices
" of the family can be gathered from it. It appears that
" he owned an estate called Hawkhurst, four miles from
" Cranbrooke, Kent, England, which he inherited at his
" mother's death (and which descended to his son, John).
" There are letters to 'my cousin,' Cecil Bowyer, Esq., of
" Denham, which contain messages to Mr. Bowyer's wife,
" to 'my uncle' and to 'my Lady Bowyer.' There is
" frequent reference to his brother, General Jasper Clayton.
" He sends his customary annual present of a box of tobacco
" to his steward at Hawkhurst, orders plate with his arms
" on it, and frames for two portraits, gives directions in
" regard to his son, Thomas, while at Cambridge, and a
" medical student in London, acknowledges a present of
" 'arrack' from London 'which was last night drunk by
" some of the best company in Virginia,' refuses and returns
" a present of a very costly wig from an English client

“because he makes a rule only to receive his fees as a lawyer, and seems to have a very large practice.”

“The name of his wife is not known: (2) Jasper, of Fernhill, in County Bucks, was colonel of the 4th Regiment of Foot, Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, and a Lieutenant-General in the British Army. He was killed at the battle of Dettingen in 1743, and buried at Wingfield, County Bucks.

“The following is an abstract of his will dated March 23, 1742, and proved in London, July 1743, by his son, Jasper: ‘In the name of God, Amen. I, Jasper Clayton, of Fernhill, in county Bucks, Esq., Lieutenant General of his Majesties Forces, declare this my last will and testament. I give to my dearly beloved daughter, Charlotte Clayton, £3,500 over and above any other sum or sums of money which her late mother Juliana or myself at any time have given her. To her, my said daughter, Charlotte Clayton, the whole and entire furniture of her room at my house at Fernhill. To my dearly beloved second son, John Clayton, £2,500. To my son-in-law, Colonel John Laforey, £100 for family mourning. I give and bequeath to my very undutiful and lost daughter, Juliana, the reputed wife of Peter Hooper, who was my servant, 1 shilling and no more. I give to Mrs. Hill, sister to the late Lady Marsham, £100 to buy her a ring. To my eldest son, Jasper Clayton, his heirs and assigns forever, all my capital, messuage and lands at Fernhill, in the Parish of Wingfield, Bucks, and I recommend him to sell the same. As to my burial, I desire it may be in the most frugal manner and most private, thinking everything otherwise vanity and ostentation. To the Right Hon.

"Samuel, Lord Marsham, one of my executors, £100
 "to buy a ring. My eldest son, Jasper Clayton, Lord
 "Marsham, and said daughter, Charlotte Clayton, executors
 "and executrix. Dated 23rd March, 1742."

"Not long after the death of General Clayton, his nephew,
 "John Clayton, of Virginia, writes to his London merchant
 "(letter book referred to above) that he has shipped to him
 "a portrait of the late Attorney-General, John Clayton,
 "which he desired to be sent to 'Mrs. Charlotte Clayton,
 "Fernhill,' 3, Alice; 4, Mary; 5, Elizabeth. One of these
 "daughters married John, Lord Lovelace, and another,
 "Thomas Strickland."

William Clayton, of Oakenshaw, in addition to the above-named, left four other sons: 5, Edward; 6, Daniel, of Norwich, clerk; 7, George, slain at Bois-leduc, and 8, Nathaniel, of London.

THE VIRGINIA BRANCH OF THE CLAYTON FAMILY.

- ♥ John Clayton, Attorney-General of Virginia, married, and had issue (1) John Clayton, born at Fulham, England, 1685, and died in Gloucester County, Virginia, 1773. He came to Virginia in 1705, was an eminent botanist, a physician, a member of some of the most learned societies of Europe, President of the Virginia Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, 1773; and author of 'Flora Virginica'." "It appears that John Clayton married Jan. 21, 1723, Elizabeth Whiting of Gloucester County. Issue: Several sons and daughters. The eldest son was named John, another named Jasper. He was clerk of the Gloucester Committee of Safety,



JOSHUA CLAYTON, M. D.
GOVERNOR OF DELAWARE.
U. S. SENATOR.

1774-5. He served in the cavalry of the Revolutionary Army and married Courtney, daughter of General John Baylor of New Market, Caroline, and had issue (1) Baylor; (2) Arthur B., born 1800, in Gloucester County, and died March 31, 1845; (3) Caroline, (4) Courtney. A branch of this family was resident in New Kent, descendants of Attorney-General John Clayton. Colonel William Clayton of New Kent, a grandson of Attorney-General John Clayton, was a member of the House of Burgesses, from New Kent from 1769 (and perhaps earlier) to 1774; of the Convention of 1776; of the House of Delegates of 1776 and other years, and the Convention of 1788. Of the same branch was Colonel Wm. Beverly Clayton, clerk of New Kent, 1787 to 1803 and later. Other members of the family were Jasper Clayton, who married a daughter of Edmund Berkeley of Barn Elms, Middlesex County.

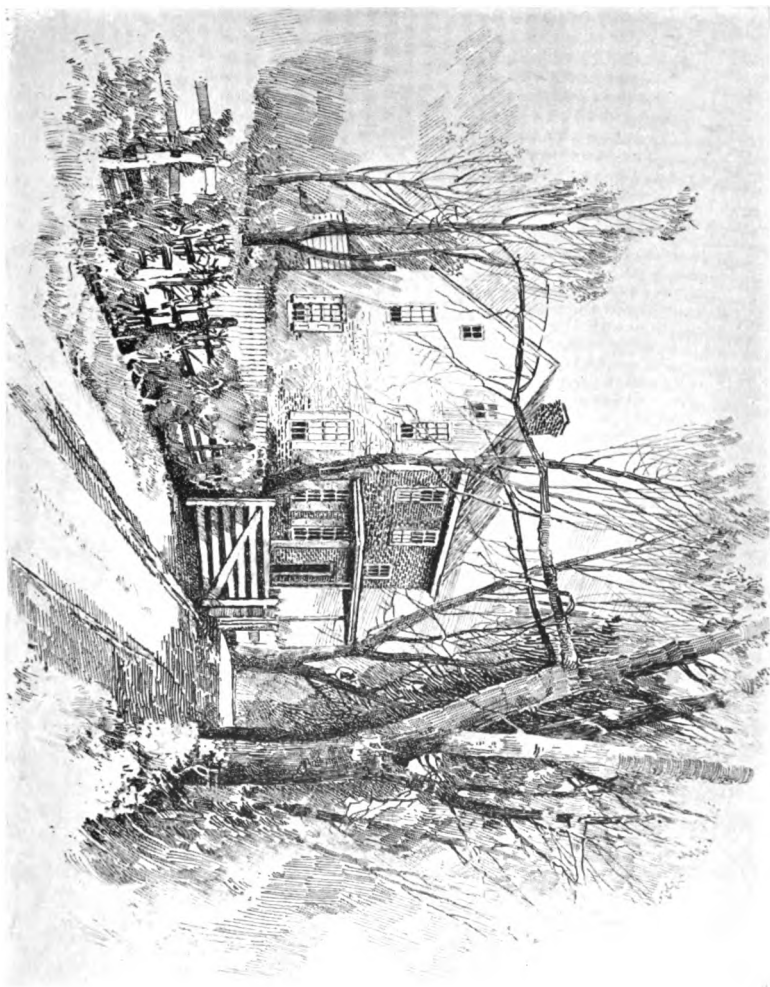
Arthur Clayton was a member of the House of Delegates from Louisa from 1817-1818. Jasper S. Clayton was appointed Justice of Matthews in 1791, and James and Joseph Clayton were living in Gloucester in 1840.

From these references it appears that John Clayton, the Attorney-General, had at least three sons, John, Thomas and Arthur, and in all probability a son named Samuel, for it appears by Slaughter's History of Culpepper County, that Samuel Clayton, of New Kent, who is supposed to be a son of John Clayton, the Attorney-General of Virginia, married Elizabeth Pendleton, a daughter of Philip Pendleton, and as he is the first by that name he will be called Philip Clayton (1). He married Anne Coleman. They had a son, Samuel Clayton, who married his cousin, Anne

Coleman, and among their children was Major Philip Clayton II, an officer in the Revolutionary Army. Philip Clayton I was the grandfather of Captain Philip Slaughter, another officer in the Revolutionary Army. He lived at "Catalpa," Virginia.

Philip Clayton II married Mildred Dixon and moved from Virginia to Georgia. One of their sons was named Augustin Smith Clayton. He was born in Petersburg, Va., November 27, 1783. In 1784 his family moved to Richmond County, Ga. In February, 1790, on the occasion of the visit of President Washington to Augusta, Ga., Augustin Smith Clayton, the 7-year old boy was selected to make a speech of welcome to the President, which so pleased Washington that he presented the boy with a copy of "Salust" duly inscribed. "He graduated at Franklin College, was distinguished at the bar, was a judge of the Western Circuit and a member of Congress, where he won a national reputation." He was an able statesman, jurist, and man of letters, and left his impress upon the policy and literature of the State. He married Julia Carnes, by whom he had nine children, among them Philip, born at Athens, Ga., March 19, 1815. He died June 1, 1839, in the 56th year of his age.

HOME OF GOV. JOSHUA CLAYTON.



THE PENNSYLVANIA BRANCH OF THE CLAYTON
FAMILY.

William Clayton, one of the sons of Thomas Clayton of London, and a grandson of William Clayton of Oakenshaw of County Yorkshire, England, had a patent granted to him by the British government for five hundred acres of land at Chichester, Pa., where he settled in 1671, and on the 13th day of September, 1681, he presided over the first court held under the proprietary government at Upland in Chester county, Pennsylvania. His son, William Clayton, Jr., was one of the jurors of that court. William Clayton, (1) was a member of Penn's Council during 1683-1684, and assisted in drafting most of the laws for Pennsylvania at that time. He was a personal friend of William Penn. He was a cousin of Joshua Clayton, who settled in Delaware, and was the ancestor of the numerous Claytons who have been prominent in Pennsylvania, and, after a busy life, died about 1691.

He was a man of prominence among the Quakers and in the active part which he took in the government at that time. It appears that a company of land owners in New Jersey had sent him over to this country to look after their interests and after attending to those duties, he settled in Chichester, Pennsylvania.

"William Clayton (1) of Chichester, Pa., was the son of "Thomas Clayton, a third son of William Clayton, of Oakenshaw, and a brother of Sir Jasper Clayton of London, and "a grandson of Thomas Clayton of Clayton Hall, in Yorkshire." Note.—See *Rambles and Reflections of Hon.*

T. J. Clayton, p. 297.. "The first son of Thomas Clayton, of Clayton Hall, died a minor. His second son was William of Okenshaw. He was known as a barrister of the Inner Temple. He died in 1627. The estate known as 'Clayton Hall' descended to Thomas Clayton (2), who was in possession as heir in 1666. He had a son, William, who came to this country in 1671, and is the ancestor of our family, and will be hereafter called 'William of Chichester.' * * * * * Thomas (2) also had a son John, who was a barrister of the Inner Temple. He died April 6, 1666." After William Clayton settled in Chichester, Pennsylvania, his cousin, Joshua Clayton, another grand-son of William Clayton of Okenshaw, accompanied William Penn to this country on his first visit. He had two sons John and Joshua who settled in Little Creek Hundred, Kent County in the State of Delaware, who became the ancestors of that branch of the Clayton family.

William Clayton, with his family, arrived in the ship "Kent" from London in company with certain commissioners sent out by the proprietors of New Jersey to purchase lands from the Indians. He left many prominent descendants and his branch of the family occupies prominent positions in Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Texas, Colorado, Illinois and many other states. The late Hon. Thomas J. Clayton, President Judge of Delaware County who was admitted to the bar in 1850, and died in 1900, Hon. Powell Clayton of Arkansas, now Ambassador to Mexico, the late Henry Armitt Brown a distinguished lawyer and orator of Philadelphia are lineal descendants of William Clayton of Chichester. William Clayton of Chichester was nearly related to Hon. John Clayton, Attorney General of Virginia.

He was a personal friend of William Penn, and it is known that Penn selected a majority of his councilors from among his relatives or personal friends, in order that he might have a majority of the council. To illustrate the language used in 1681, the following quotations from Cope's History of Chester County Pennsylvania pp. 18-19 is given.

"Province of Pennsylvania; at the Cort at Vpland,
"September 13, 1681—

" Mr. William Clayton,	Mr. Rober Lucas,
" Mr. William Warner,	Mr. Lassey Cock,
" Mr. Robert Wade,	Mr. Swan Swanson,
" Mr. Otto Ernst Cock,	Mr. Andreas Bankson,
" Mr. William Byles,	<i>Justices present.</i>

" Mr. John Test, *Sheriffe.*

" Mr. Tho. Revell, *Clerke.*"

"Of the justices, five are Englishmen, four Swedes, two
"of whom had been members of the former court.

"The jurors in attendance appeared to have been twenty-six."

THE DELAWARE BRANCH OF THE CLAYTON FAMILY.

In order that this sketch of the "Clayton Family" may be understood, it is given in genealogical order for six generations by numbers after each individual name, but as certain prominent members of the family have an historical interest, their history is intended to precede the table using the numbers there given.

Joshua Clayton (1) is spoken of by some of the authorities as a minister of the Gospel and that he visited or settled finally in Virginia. It will be found that there was a

Thomas Clayton in Virginia on York River who was a prominent lawyer as early as 1680, who had a large practice from London merchants. Among the archives of Pennsylvania it appears that on the 25th of October, 1682 Thomas Clayton took up land in Chester County, Pennsylvania. It must be remembered that Sir John Clayton of London was a first cousin of Joshua Clayton (1) and that his son John settled in Virginia; and as Virginia and the three Delaware Counties, which were parts of Pennsylvania, were in close proximity, it required but little time to complete a trip to and from each state. There appear to be no records in the State of Delaware showing any will or letters of administration on the estate of Joshua Clayton (1). It is claimed that he came to this country with William Penn on his first visit. It has been handed down from generation to generation both in Delaware and Pennsylvania that William Clayton (1) of Pennsylvania, and Joshua Clayton (1) of Delaware were cousins. The late Hon. John M. Clayton while Secretary of State under President Taylor, conversed with the Virginia branch of the Clayton Family on the subject of the relationship between the two families, and after going over all the facts they decided that the Virginia Claytons and the Delaware Claytons were from the same original stock.

The late Judge Clayton of Pennsylvania states in his biography of the family that William Clayton (1) and Joshua Clayton (1) were descendants of Thomas Clayton of Clayton Hall in the parish of Highhoyland County York, England.

Joshua Clayton (1) married * * * * * by whom he had issue, two sons, John (2) and Joshua (3,)

both of whom settled in Kent County, Delaware, perhaps as early as 1695.

John Clayton and Joshua Clayton must have been very old men at the time of their respective deaths, which happened in 1759 and 1761. From these two men, the record of the "Clayton Family" is verified by wills, deeds, bibles, Friends' Yearly Meeting Records, tombstones and family history. John and Joshua Clayton must have been born about 1675 or 1677, as they purchased lands jointly in Kent County, Delaware as early as 1698. See Deed Book "C", Volume I, page 211 etc. John Clayton (2) son of Joshua (1) of whom hereafter. Joshua Clayton (3) son of Joshua Clayton (1) and brother of John Clayton (2) settled in Little Creek Hundred, Kent County, Delaware, and became a prominent member of the Society of Friends, and he appears to have taken a very decided and active part in all their meetings from 1716 to the date of his death in January 1761.

He became a large land owner in Kent County, was a very religious and devoted Quaker, and lived on his home plantation at the time of his death. He married * * * * * by whom he had three daughters: Lydia (6) who married John Cowgill on the 16th day of December 1720, Sarah, (7) who married Thomas Cowgill, Elizabeth (8) who married Mark Manlove, Jr., on the 19th day of August 1730.

Joshua Clayton (3) died about the first day of January A. D. 1761, having made his last will and testament dated the 2nd day of September A. D. 1760, probated at Dover, Delaware on the sixth day of January A. D. 1761, and registered in Will Book "K" page 225 etc., wherein he devised as follows:—ITEM: "I leave unto my grand-

“daughter Eunice Osbourne, (wife of Jonathon Osbourne)
“my now dwelling plantation, being part of a tract of land
“called ‘Higham’s Ferry,’ and a part of a tract of land
“called ‘Wilton Creek.’” He also left other lands and a
number of slaves to his grand-children and the following
grand-children are named as devisees:—John Cowgill,
Clayton Cowgill, Ezekiel Cowgill, Thomas Cowgill, Sarah
Register, who was the wife of John Register of Talbot
County, Md., Elizabeth Neal, Jean Smith, Lydia Durborough
and the said Eunice Osbourne.

John Clayton (2) married Grace * * * by whom
he had issue two sons and one daughter, to wit: John Clayton
(4) James Clayton (5) and * * * Clayton (5½)
who married * * * Caldwell by whom she had a son
John Caldwell and a daughter Sarah Caldwell.

John Clayton (4) was a prominent man in the County, a
large land owner and died in 1758 having made his last
will and Testament dated the 4th day of December A. D.
1754, probated at Dover on the 9th day of May A. D. 1759
and recorded in Will Book K. page 203, etc, wherein he
constituted and appointed his son James (5) his Executor
and devised his estate to his two grand-children John Caldwell
and Sarah Caldwell, his two sons John Clayton (4) and
James Clayton (5) and his widow Grace Clayton.

John Clayton, Jr. (4) a son of John and Grace Clayton,
was returned High Sheriff of Kent County Delaware, in
1752-1753, and was styled John Clayton, Jr. He was also
a Lieutenant and (perhaps a Captain) in the Continental
Army in 1757, and his name appears in a Caveat in the land
office in 1760, he also appears as the Administrator of the
Estate of his brother James in 1761. He appears to have



RACHEL MCCLEARY CLAYTON,
THE WIFE OF GOVERNOR JOSHUA CLAYTON
AND HER TWO SONS.



JAMES LAWSON CLAYTON.



RICHARD CLAYTON.

been the first Clayton to hold public office in the State of Delaware and left an only son who d. s. p.

John Clayton (11) a son of James (5) and Grace Clayton, b. 1749, and d., 1802. m. Mary Mason Manlove by whom he had two sons.

His will is dated April 1, 1794, probated at Dover in Will Book O, page 67, etc., wherein he provided that in the event of the death of his two sons James and Edward Clayton in their minority, his estate should be divided between James Lawson Clayton, Richard Clayton and Thomas Clayton, sons of his brother Dr. Joshua Clayton, to John Clayton and Charles Clayton, sons of his brother Thomas Clayton—and James Hanson, a son of his sister Lydia Hanson, (nee Clayton).

He was appointed a Judge in Admiralty under the Constitution of 1776, and also appointed fourth Justice of the Court of C. P. for Kent County, Delaware on the 15th day of February 1788, and again appointed third Justice of the same Court on the 8th day of February 1790. About 1792, he was High Sheriff of Kent County, Delaware, and while acting in that capacity, compelled the Legislature of the State, then in session, (May 1792) to vacate the Court House, and they adjourned to Duck Creek, Cross Roads, (now Smyrna).

This act showed the strong character of the man. He took a deep interest in Colonial politics, in the Revolution, and in the Government afterwards. He was appointed one of the Associate Judges of the Court of C. P. of the State of Delaware on the 16th day of September A. D. 1793, which position he occupied until the time of his death 1802. He was a large land owner in Kent County, Delaware and

resided in Murderkill Hundred. He left two sons, James and Edward Manlove, whose descendants largely live in the Southern States, none in Delaware.

The portrait of Judge John Clayton appearing in this sketch was made from a miniature painted in Philadelphia in 1784, and now in the possession of the family.

IV. Joshua Clayton (10) born in 1744, married Mrs. Rachel McCleary an adopted daughter of Richard Bassett, an early Governor of the State of Delaware. Joshua Clayton was a practicing physician and was a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army. He was elected Major of the Bohemia Battalion on the 6th day of January, 1776, and was commissioned Colonel by General Washington just before the battle of Brandywine; it is said that General Washington placed him on his staff "in order to make a good appearance when receiving the sword of General Howe, whom he expected to take at that place."

Colonel Dr. Joshua Clayton held many prominent positions in the army, state and nation. He was the last President of the State of Delaware, and the first governor under the new Constitution, and in 1798 was elected to the United States Senate. He filled each and every position with honor to himself, his state and the nation. He was largely interested in the ownership of Bohemia Manor, and he and Richard Bassett owned nearly all of that ancient manor of 20,000 acres of land lying in New Castle County, Delaware and Cecil County, Maryland. He took the yellow fever in 1798, and against the entreaties of Dr. Rush, returned to his home in Bohemia Manor, where he died leaving to survive him three sons:—James Lawson (16,) Richard (17,) Thomas (18).



PROFILE SILHOUETTE OF JOHN M. CLAYTON.

Thomas Clayton (18) was born at Massey's Cross Roads, Maryland in July 1777. He married Jennette Macomb, daughter of Eleazer Macomb, studied law, and was admitted to the Delaware Bar in 1799. He practiced law at Dover and was appointed Secretary of State in 1808, Attorney General in 1811, elected to the Congress in 1814, and took his seat in the Senate of the United States January 15, 1824 to fill the unexpired term of Hon. Cæsar A. Rodney. In 1828 he was appointed Chief Justice of the State of Delaware. He was again elected to the United States Senate in 1841 and at the expiration of his term retired to private life at New Castle where he died August 31, 1854, having had issue an only son and two daughters:—Joshua Clayton (39) b August 2, 1802, Elizabeth (40,) Jennette (41).

JOHN M. CLAYTON.

John M. Clayton, (25) the son of James Clayton (15) and Sarah (Middleton) Clayton his wife was born at Dagsboro, Sussex County, Delaware, November 24th, 1796. After a preliminary education at Lewes he graduated from Yale College and studied law with his cousin, Hon. Thomas Clayton, afterwards Chief Justice of the State. He was admitted to the Delaware bar in 1819, and soon showed a bent toward politics, serving as Secretary of State from 1826 to 1828. As the leader of the Adams party in 1828 he carried the state and was rewarded by election to the United States Senate entering that body at the early age of thirty-two. He served as a Senator with Webster, Clay, Calhoun and Benton and soon became a prominent figure in National Politics. Was re-elected to the Senate in 1835,

and was twice after elected in 1845 and in 1853. During Zachary Taylor's brief term as President he served as Secretary of State and negotiated the celebrated Clayton-Bulwer treaty. For three years he occupied the office of Chief Justice of the State.

He was a born leader of men. No man whom Delaware has produced has measured higher in intellectual capacity or in combination of rare gifts. As a man he was tender and true, as a lawyer and judge he occupied the highest rank, and as an advocate and statesman none surpassed him. His life was full of accomplishments and at his death on November 9th, 1856 his remains were laid at rest in the graveyard of the Presbyterian Church at Dover.

Joshua Clayton, son of Thomas and Emma (Purner) Clayton was born February 8th, 1871. He was the grandson of Colonel Joshua the great grandson of Chief Justice Thomas, and great-great grandson of Governor Joshua. After being educated at the Middletown Academy he studied law with Albert Constable, Esq., at Elkton, Maryland, and was admitted to the Cecil County bar in 1899, and was a member of the Maryland House of Delegates in 1901. Mr. Clayton is an active man with much of the ability, that has made the Clayton family famous, and as a lawyer promises to make a successful career.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE, FOR SIX GENERATIONS, OF
THE DELAWARE FAMILY OF CLAYTONS.

FIRST GENERATION:—

Children of Joshua Clayton (1), first settler in Delaware:

John (2) d 1758 m Grace

Joshua (3) a Quaker preacher d 1760.

SECOND GENERATION.

Children of John Clayton (2) and Grace his wife:

John (4)

James (5) m Grace d about May 10, 1761.

Children of Joshua Clayton (3) and his wife:—

Lydia (6) m John Cowgill 12-16-1720,

Sarah (7) m Thomas Cowgill,

Elizabeth (8) m Mark Manlove, Jr., 8-19-1730.

THIRD GENERATION.

Children of John Clayton (4):

John Edmund (9) d. s. p.

Children of James Clayton (5) and Grace . . . his wife:

Joshua (10) b 1744, d 1798, m Rachel McCleary.

John (11) b 1749, d 1802 m Mary Mason Manlove.

James (12) d in infancy.

Thomas (13) d 1785 m Elizabeth Wharton of Philadelphia.

Lydia (14) m Joseph Hanson by whom she had one son John.

Grace (14¼) b d.

Miriam (14½).

Amelia (14¾).

George b 3-24-1761 renamed James (15) d 11-24-1820, m Sarah Middleton 8-18-1791, a daughter of Ignatius Middleton of Annapolis, Md.

FOURTH GENERATION.

Children of Joshua Clayton (10) and Rachael McCleary
his wife:

James Lawson (16) b 7-14-1769, d 3-19-1833 m Elizabeth
Polk 12-16-1795.

Richard (17) b 1774, d 1836, m first, Mary Richardson,
second Mary Lawrenson, third Araminta Lewis.

Thomas (18), b 7- 1777, d 8-21-1854, m Jennette
Macomb.

Children of John Clayton (11) and Mary Manlove, his wife:

James (19) b. 1780, d 1825, m Sarah Medford.

Edward Manlove (20) d 1819, m Rachel H. Manlove
11-20-1811.

Children of Thomas Clayton (13) and Elizabeth Wharton
his wife:

Charles (21) d. s. p.

John (22) d. s. p.

Children of Pearse Clayton (14) and Hanson her
husband:

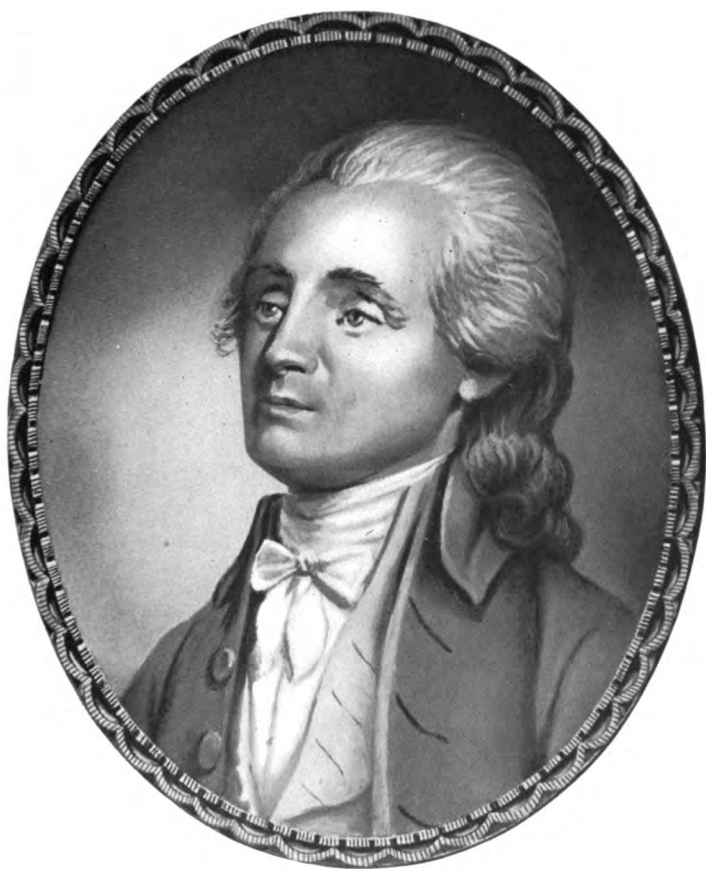
James (23).

Children of James Clayton (15) and Sarah Middleton his
wife:

Lydia (24) b. 9-18-1794, m John Kellam of Accomac
County, Virginia and d. s. p.

John Middleton (25) b 11-24-1796 m Sallie Ann Fisher
daughter of Dr. James Fisher, 9-12-1822 at Middle-
town, Del. by the Rev. (afterward Dr.) Samuel
Brinckle and d 11-9-1856.

Harriet M. (26) b 5-8-1798 m Walter Douglass 10-6-
1814 who d 4-20-1826. She married secondly Henry
W. Peterson of Canada.



JUDGE JOHN CLAYTON.
1749-1802.

Henry (27) b 3-2-1800 d 6-17-1800.

Elizabeth (28) b 9-12-1801 d. s. p. 3-5-1822.

Mary Ann (29) b 12-8-1803 m George T. Fisher.

James Henry (30) b 9-12-1809 d. s. p. 6-7-1836.

FIFTH GENERATION.

Children of James Lawson Clayton (16) and Elizabeth Polk, his wife:

Rachel (31), born 1797, d 1890, m Nathaniel Smithers,
d. s. p.

John L. (32) b 1788 d m Ellen M. Clark.

Margaret (33) b 1799 died in infancy.

Hester (34) b 1802 died in infancy.

Amelia (35) b 1803 d 1891 m Thomas C. Hambley.

Anna (36), b 1805, d 1891, m Joshua Clayton (42).

Susanna (37) b 1808 died in infancy.

James (38) b 1810 died in infancy.

Children of Richard Clayton (17) and Mary Richardson his first wife.

Joshua (42) b 1794, d 1854, m Anna White Clayton (36).

James (43) b 1803 d 1857 m Emeline Lewis.

Thomas E. (44) b 1800 d 1858 m Sarah Lawrenson.

Mary (45) b 1797 d 1845 m first, Richard Lawrenson,
secondly, George Lewis.

Children of Richard Clayton (17) and Mary Lawrenson, his second wife.

Richard T. P. (46), b 1808, m Ann Templeton.

Jennette (47), died unmarried.

Children of Richard Clayton (17) and Araminta Lewis his third wife:

Lydia A. (48) b 1816 d 1849 m Joshua Clayton (39).

Children of Thomas Clayton (18) and Jennette Macomb his wife:

Joshua (39) b 1802 d 1888, m first, Lydia A. Clayton m secondly, Martha E. Lockwood.

Elizabeth (40) b 1804 d 1847 m Nathaniel Young.

Jennette (41) b 1805 d 1848 m Robert Frame.

Children of James Clayton (17) and Sarah Medford his wife:

Henry M. (49) b 12-31-1810 d 11-13-1888 m Mary E. Woodland.

John (50) b 1819 d 3-14-1881 m Anna B. Colton.

Susan M. (51) b 7-23-1802 d 8-6-1881 d. s. p.

Mary A. (52) b 7-17-1804 d 11-17-1881 d. s. p.

Children of Edward Manlove Clayton (20) and Rachel H. Manlove his wife:

Ann Rebecca (53) b 8-21-1812 d 3-31-1883 m James W. Dunklin.

Elizabeth W. (54) b 10-24-1815 d 12-1-1898 m Charles E. Lavender.

Mary Louisa (55) b 4-21-1817 unmarried.

Children of John M. Clayton (25) and Sarah Middleton his wife:

James Fisher (56), unmarried, b 7-11-1823, d. s. p. 3-1-1851.

Charles McClymont (57) b 2-3-1835, d. s. p. 7-20-1849.

Children of Harriet M. Clayton (26) and Walter Douglas her husband.

Margaret A. (58) b 4-17-1816 m Joseph P. Comegys 3-30-1837.

James Clayton (59) b 11-24-1817 m Ellen Stewart Sinclair 11-7-1848.

Children of Mary Ann Clayton (29) and George T.
Fisher her husband.
James C. (60) died unmarried.
John C. (61) died unmarried.

SIXTH GENERATION.

Children of John L. Clayton (32) and Ellen M. Clark, his
wife:
Julius (62).
James W. (63).
Theodore (64).
John P. (65).
Henry (66).

Children of Amelia Clayton (35) and Thomas C. Hambley
her husband:
Thomas C. Jr. (67) died young.
Henrietta M. (68) m Charles M. Siter.
William T. (69) died 1894.
Samuel C. (70) unmarried.

Children of Anna White Clayton (36) and Joshua Clayton
her husband;
Charles, (71) m Emma Clark.
Joshua (73) m Lavinia Moyer.

Children of Joshua Clayton (39) and Lydia A. Clayton
his first wife:
Thomas (74) b 12-6-1833 d 9-20-1896.
Henry (75) b 1839 d 1896.
Richard (76) b 1842 d 1898.

Children of Joshua Clayton (39) and Martha E. Lockwood
his second wife:
Adalaide Y. (77) m Charles S. Ellison.

Macomb (78) m Elizabeth Porter Laws.

Mary (79) m J. Fletcher Price.

Elizabeth (80) m Dr. Williams.

Joshua (81) m Estelle Pennington.

Frances (82) m Nathaniel J. Williams.

Eugene (83) m Anna J. Wilson.

Children of Elizabeth Clayton (40) and Nathaniel Young
her husband:

Jennette (84) unmarried.

Adelaide (85) unmarried.

Children of Jennette Clayton (41) and Robert Frame, her
husband:

Robert (86) b 1837 m Hetty McColley d 1902.

Thomas C. (87) b 1840 m Mary Layton.

Julia (88) b 1844 unmarried.

Children of Joshua Clayton (42) and Anna White Clay-
ton (36) his wife:

See ante. No. 36.

Children of James Clayton (43) and Emeline Lewis his
wife:

Arianna (89) m Edward Townsend.

George (90) died unmarried.

Caroline (91) m Arthur Johns.

Children of Thomas E. Clayton (44) and Sarah Lawren-
son his wife:

Emma Elizabeth (92) m James A. Lewis.

Children of Mary Clayton (45) and Richard Lawrenson
her first husband:

Eliza (93) m George Templeman.

Children of Mary Clayton (45) and George Lewis her
second husband:



THOMAS CLAYTON.
CHIEF JUSTICE OF DELAWARE.
U. S. SENATOR.



James A. (94) m Emma Elizabeth Clayton (see foot note).

Matilda m Dr. Swartz.

Children of Richard T. P. Clayton (46) . . and his wife:

Richard (95) married,

Anna (96) m James Jamison.

Children of Lydia A. Clayton (48) and Joshua Clayton
her husband:

See ante. No. 39.

Children of Henry M. Clayton (49) and Mary E. Wood-
land his wife:

James W. (97) b 10-30-1837) m Elizabeth Hunter.

Henry M. (98) b 6-9-1844 d 7-3-1901 married first
Adelia Tracy secondly Mary Pemberton.

John A. (99) b 1850 d 1899 m Mary

Mary E. (100) b 1838 d 1902 m John Thompson.

Sarah E. (101) b 7-16-1848 m Henry Snow Bartlett.

Children of John Clayton (50) and Anna B. Colton his
wife:

Anna B. (102) b 1847 d 1899 m J. G. R. McElroy.

Louisa B. (103) b 1852 m W. H. Gilpin.

Ella M. (104) b 1858 d 1901 unmarried.

Children of Ann Rebecca Clayton (53) and James W.
Dunklin her husband:

Edward C. (105) b 6-23-1832 d 1-11-1900.

Mary E. (106) b 1-10-1835 d 1-20-1902.

William H. (107) b 3-6-1837 d 5-7-1864.

Virgie J. (108) b 9-26-1841 d 1-14-1885.

Florence E. (109) b 10-16-1845.

Charles P. (110) b 11-18-1847.

NOTE—This James A. Lewis (the son of a Clayton woman) was the only relative of John M. Clayton ever appointed to office by him, he being his private secretary, and the man who prepared the rough draft of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

Children of Elizabeth W. Clayton (54) and Charles E.

Lavender her husband:

Mary Louisa (111) b 5-2-1837.

Edward C. (112) b 5-13-1839 d 6-1-1892.

Della (113) b 6-15-1842 d 10-23-1865.

Charles H. (114) b 11-16-1843.

Children of Margaret A. Douglass (58) and Joseph P.

Comegys her husband:

Walter Douglass (115) b 9-12-1838 m 12-29-1863 Anna

L. Bell dau of Hon. John Bell of Tennessee, issue
one child which died in infancy.

Walter Douglas Comegys (116) d. s. p. 11-28-1877.

Harriet Clayton (117) b 9-26-1840, living.

Cornelia (118) b d.s. p. 9-25-1878.

Children of James Clayton Douglas (59) and Ella Stewart

Sinclair his wife:

Constance Margaret (119) b 3-20-1852 m 1-16-1884

Francis N. Buck.

Clayton Douglas (120) b 3-27-1854 d. s. p. 2-21-1872.

EXTRACT FROM THE FAMILY BIBLE OF THE LATE HON. JOHN M. CLAYTON.

“ My father gave me the following pedigree of the Clayton
“ family. Joshua Clayton came to America from England
“ with William Penn. He left sons *John* and Joshua.
“ Joshua left one daughter, who married a Cowgill, and the
“ Cowgill family in Delaware is connected with mine, being
“ the descendants of that daughter. John left sons *James*
“ and John. James left sons Joshua, John, Thomas, James
“ and George. John (Senior of John) left a son John
“ Edmunds Clayton who died without issue. Joshua (of

“ James) left Thomas, James, Richard and Thomas. John

“ (of James) left James and Edward now dead.

“ Thomas (of James) died leaving two sons John and Charles who died without issue.

“ James died an infant a few days after his father and then George was renamed James after his father. He was born March 24, 1761, married my mother August 18, 1791 and left at his death on the 24th day of November 1820 Lydia, wife of John Kellam, John M. Clayton, Harriet, wife of Walter Douglass, Elizabeth Clayton, Mary Ann, wife of G. T. Fisher, and James H. M. Clayton.

Attest :

[Signed] JOHN M. CLAYTON.”

GENERAL COMMENT.

It will be found by an examination of the admission of the great number of lawyers produced by the Clayton family; that for over three hundred years either in this country or England, some of them have graced the bar. We will begin with 1590 when William Clayton of Okenshaw County, York, England, of the Inner Temple Barrister at law had been admitted, and dying in 1627 left a son John Clayton of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, admitted in 1626, who died in 1671, leaving a son John Clayton of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, who died subsequent to 1705.

From 1705 to 1743 John Clayton, a son of Rev. James Clayton, and great grand-son of William Clayton, of Okenshaw, was a member of the Middle Temple.

From 1650 to 1682 Sir John Clayton, a son of Sir Jasper Clayton;

From 1682 to 1737 John Clayton of Va., a son of Sir John Clayton;

From 1727 to 1772 Richard Clayton, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland;

From 1762 to 1824 Sir Richard Clayton, Baronet.

From 1799 to 1854 Thomas Clayton, late Chief Justice of Delaware;

From 1819 to 1856 John M. Clayton also late Chief Justice of Delaware;

From 1825 to 1888 Joshua Clayton of Delaware;

1850 to 1900 Thomas J. Clayton, late Judge of Delaware County, Pennsylvania;

From 1899 to 1904 Joshua Clayton of Maryland who is now living.

This family has not been any less conspicuous in its number of physicians. From 1705 to 1773 John Clayton was a physician in Gloucester County, Virginia. From about 1770 to 1798 Dr. Joshua Clayton was a physician in Delaware, and from the year 1800 to the present time there have been so many physicians from this family it would take a book to contain their names. They are scattered all over the United States. We find the ministry beginning about 1100 and continuing until the present day.

The ministers of the Gospel in this family represented the Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist and other denominations. Many of them became Quakers during the Seventeenth century. From this array of talented men one might expect to find a man filling the highest station in life, one who would be singled out among men as a great leader, lawyer, orator and statesman, and it was left to the Diamond State to produce such a man.

We can name with praise our own John M. Clayton as the man of great natural abilities, well cultivated and thoroughly matured. Here we find the greatest of great lawyers, the brightest of brilliant orators, the profoundest of jurists, the most astute of astute statesmen, and one of the deepest, clearest and strongest diplomats. He honored the name of "Clayton," the name of the State of Delaware and the nation that gave him place and position. He was the boy orator of the state that loved him and his name will go down in history as the one man who could fill the highest judicial chair of his state, who could challenge the greatest statesmen to combat and meet the diplomats of the world with such marked ability that they all honored him. Well may the state be proud of her noble statesman. One word more and we will close and that is to appeal to you all to uphold the honor of this state with such men in the halls of our national legislature. For further information on John M. Clayton see Memoir of his life, containing over 300 pages by the late Hon. Joseph P. Comegys, Chief Justice of the State of Delaware, and a former student in his office.

ABBREVIATIONS.

b. born ; s. succeeded ; d. died ; d. s. p. died without issue ; m. married ; unm. unmarried ; dau. daughter.

Books and papers referred to in manuscript.

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